

The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, EDITOR.

We are verily giddy concerning our brother *** therefore, is this distress come upon us.

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SLAVEHOLDERS' DEPARTMENT.

The regular readers of the Philanthropist will remember, that, in a former No. (15) there was published an account, taken from the Clinton Gazette, of the proceedings of a Town meeting—held, to consider and adopt the most effective measures for the extermination of abolitionists and their measures. We now give below—taken also from the Clinton Gazette,—the doings of a larger meeting, held in the same place, for the same purpose, a few days afterward. Clinton is a village, in Hinds county, Miss.—the centre, or chief town, of one of the most fertile and healthful regions in the state;—and, although it is not more than 40 or 45 miles from Vicksburg, where the reign of terror was introduced by the open murder of five American Citizens—yet, it is considered (and we doubt not very properly) as among the foremost in the state for wealth, refinement, education, intelligence, &c.

The editor of this paper has a personal acquaintance with several of those, whose names are attached to the document below. With one of them—who, from certain turgid peculiarities in the style of the document, he supposes, was the author of it—he practised at the Bar, in Alabama, for many years, on terms of the most uninterrupted friendship and intimacy. The character of this gentleman, then, was, that of an orderly, upright, and peaceful citizen. He was more, than was usual, industrious in his professional pursuits—and was thought to have, in his moral composition, but little of that blood-thirstiness, which it is presumed, has been considered, within the last ten months, a necessary qualification for aspiring to the honor of a seat in a slaveholding 'vigilance committee.' We would not say, that the same description would be altogether inapplicable to the rest of them, who are known to us, excepting one, who,—taking out a few months, or a year or two at most, during which time he was a member of a Church,—has always been, since he attained manhood, one of the small-fry-political-pugilists, and dirk-knife and pistol-cavaliers, of the South.

The same remark may justly be made, in reference to the character of many of those who constituted the notable 'Vigilance Committee' for Limestone county, in Alabama. Generally speaking, they belonged to the most reputable and orderly class of the community. A large proportion, if not a majority of them were members of Churches. Yet, did they—giving an example which the 'respectable' gentry of Clinton and its vicinity have not been slow to follow—unblushingly, from the very midst of an American population, proclaim to the world, that, wherever they could lay hands on a certain class of their fellow citizens, they would imprison, beat, scourge, torture, and put them to death, without regard to law, and without judge or jury—except, in so far, as these, heretofore necessary agents in the administration of justice, were provided for, in the Chairman of a Vigilance Committee and his merciless band of blood-stained lictors.

Now, if slavery produces in such men as some spoken of in the foregoing remarks, so entire a perversion of correct feeling, as to lead them to imitate the most hateful system of espionage over their neighbors—if it leads them to the open plunder of the National Mail—to trample upon all the most solemnly recognised, and most sacredly secured rights of others of their fellow-citizens—to beat, and scourge and hang, not only their own slaves but freemen like themselves, is it not time, that every American begin to examine, whether Slavery shall be maintained at the unavoidable expense of all our personal rights—or they, at the expense of Slavery? We ask all, solemnly to ponder this subject. It is one that calls for decision on the part of those who are yet free. It is our own belief, if Slavery be permitted to grow for the next ten years as it has for the last ten, that Liberty, to the great majority of us, will be only in our Constitution—the substance of it will have been swallowed up by the slaveholders of the South, and their wealthy confederates at the North.

From the Clinton Gazette.

An adjourned meeting of the citizens of Clinton and vicinity, was held at the Baptist and Presbyterian Church in the town of Clinton on Saturday 5th September, 1835. The chairman being absent, Maj. J. H. Norton was called to the chair. The meeting being called to order, the committee, appointed at a former meeting, made their report through their chairman Thomas Harney Esq. which, on motion was unanimously received, and with slight amendments was adopted unanimously, except the 4th and 10th resolutions, to which there were but three dissenting voices. The report and resolutions as amended and adopted are as follows:—The undersigned, appointed a committee at a meeting of the citizens of Clinton and vicinity on Saturday the 29th ult., to report by resolution or otherwise, the views and feelings of this community in relation to the perilous and unexpected movements now going forward in various parts of the Union for the abolition of slaves, have taken the subject under serious consideration and have the honor to state, that in

their opinion there is good reason to believe, that the most awful crisis has arisen in our public affairs, which has ever marked our history as a nation. The fact cannot longer be concealed, and the undesigned do not feel at liberty to dissemble in reference to it, that a large number of individuals are now associated, in the north and elsewhere for the purpose of perpetrating the most violent encroachments upon those peculiar rights of property existing in the South, and whose exemption from interference, has been solemnly guaranteed by our national Constitution; and not only is it designed by those unprincipled fanatics, who are concerned in these movements, to encroach, by legislative action, upon the interest of the South, but they are most evidently resolved, if necessary, to accomplish their nefarious object by blood and carnage. A brief statement of a few leading and striking facts will make what is here said perfectly manifest. The anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, has recently been held in the city of New York, the proceedings of which body, disclosed schemes of warfare upon the South, almost incredible for their atrocity and boldness. It was declared by that body, that no valid right of property could exist in human beings. It was resolved to memorialize Congress to abolish slavery forthwith, in the district of Columbia, thus accumulating the material of insurrection, and bloodshed in the very heart of the slave region. It was further resolved to memorialize all the legislatures of the slave states on the subject; to memorialize the French government with a view to the procurement of immediate abolition in all the French possessions in our hemisphere. It was resolved, in addition, to establish in every part of the Union, and especially in the slave states of the south and west, auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies, and newspapers devoted to the furtherance of the cause of immediate abolition. It was resolved to raise \$30,000 for the expenditures of the society during the present year; and the sum of \$14,000 was raised upon the spot. Already are there in the various states of the confederacy, 250 auxiliary societies; and a great number of newspapers, engaged in urging the principles of the abolitionists, of which four are established in the city of New York; and a countless host of emissaries have been sent out to disseminate them for the purpose of diffusing the spirit of this society amidst our population. At this very moment Tracts are in circulation among us, of the most dangerous and inflammatory character; and indeed every mail comes loaded with these diabolical products of fanatical phrenzy. The undersigned will mention one of them entitled the 'Rights of Man' in which individuals and societies are asked to pledge themselves to distribute a certain number of these incendiary publications regularly, and systematically. It is stated in the 'Emancipator' that thousands had associated in different parts of the country, to obtain the freedom of slaves; but that pride, indolence, the love of popularity, public sentiment, sordid interests, slaveholders and all their abettors are leagued against them, and are trying all the arts of flattery, fraud and force to entice and drive them from their stand.

The following extract from a speech of the Rev. Mr. Dickey, of Ohio, delivered at an Anti-Slavery meeting, at Pittsburg, is cited as developing still more strikingly the character and object of their association.—Our plan 'said he' is to undo the heavy burden and let the oppressed go free. Wherever it has been tried, it has worked well. I speak experimentally on this subject. Look at Mexico, at the West Indies, at St. Domingo. At St. Domingo cries one, starting back with horror. But I say again it worked well in St. Domingo! * * * 'Let opposers take warning!' In addition to these facts the undersigned, would observe, that every mail brings fresh intelligence of an unparalleled excitement existing throughout the whole northern portion of the confederacy upon this subject. Large assemblages of the people of that region are continually occurring, at which addresses are made by men of high oratorical powers and most outrageous zeal—a zeal it seems to the undersigned bordering on madness—and resolutions are adopted manifesting a determined intention at all hazards to violate the rights of the South, and engulf us, if necessary, to the fell design of the abolition leaders, in all the horrors of a servile war. On the other side of the Atlantic, Mr. O'Connell, the celebrated Irish agitator, has announced himself to the world, as the champion of the slaves of this country, and is sending forth continual streams of ill digested and delusive rhetoric, with a view to promote the desired combustion. The undersigned, in considering these things dispassionately, have come to the conclusion, that it would be absolute madness, for the South and the West, longer, to slumber over their interests. Admonished, especially, by the perils, from which this community has but lately escaped; nothing but the most unprecedented fatuity could conceal from our view, the fact, that the Southern and Western portions of this confederacy, are at this moment in the most imminent danger, and that nothing can save us from turmoil and carnage, but the most active and unceasing vigilance. It is foreign from the duty of this committee to attempt a justification of Slavery. Were it necessary, however, the task in their opinion, would not be difficult. Besides the explicit recognition of slavery by inspired writers, as evidenced in the Bible, there is to be found in the pages of contemporaneous profane writers, conclusive proof of its universal prevalence, in some form or another, throughout the Jewish, the Gentile, the Christian and the Pagan world. The refined humanity, and the purer philosophy, of the present age, have not in substance changed the condition of our species. While the false philosophy and hypocritical philanthropy of Europe, are chanting the Syren song of universal emancipation, it is a fact which cannot be disguised, that slavery, though variously modified, exists in every kingdom and principality of Europe. Denmark has her boors, Sweden her *trads*, Russia her *serfs*, England and France their *vassals*. Forms of slavery, which disguise it as they may, are not less vigorous—less subversive of the equal rights of man, than the species of slavery existing in this country. But the committee will not pursue this branch of the subject. Whether slavery which has become identified with the municipal condition of the southern states, be abstractly right or wrong, is a point which cannot without endangering our union, be contested by any of the non-slaveholding states. It existed anterior to the union. It was intimately blended in the very existence of nearly all the 13 colonies. Great Britain, our mother country proffered her ships and her enterprise, to transport from their native soil the ancestors of our slaves. The northern states, where this Hydra, Abolition, is now piously rearing his head, and laughingly brandishing his implements of death, were not less backward in proffering their ships and their enterprise, while they could satiate their wretched cupidity, to increase and to rivet upon us, our African population. When Great Britain, by her national policy imbibed the African slave trade, and recommended its imbibition to the civilized world, none more readily approved, or

more scrupulously observed, the imbibition, than the South. And yet, it is a fact, which in the opinion of the committee can be proved, that within the last twenty years, there have been citizens of wealth and respectability, in New England, who for traffic alone, have furnished their ships and their wealth with which to violate that imbibition, and the plighted faith of this nation. In New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and other states, while their forests were unsubdued to the culture of man, and slave labor was deemed necessary and profitable, slavery was not altogether so frightful a monster as abolition philanthropy has recently discovered. After sordid interests has been subserved, the mighty oak has bowed his head, the forest has been cleared, and rendered profitable, for a dense population, the mariner has revelled amidst the shrieks of enchained Africans, the capitalist has surcharged his coffers with the traffic in African blood, and an entire country has discovered that slavery can administer to interest no longer—then, and not till then has any portion of the present non-slaveholding states discovered, that slavery is a sin, and must be abolished, even at the expense of our dear bought union. The undersigned will not attempt to prove the unqualified right which each state has to the institution of slavery, and the exclusive right, which in her own limits, of continuing, modifying or abolishing that institution. These inseparable rights cannot, nay, they dare not be denied. And yet, upon what principle, except the denial of these rights, do the abolitionists presume to predicate their doctrines? The undersigned have all due regard for the virtue and intelligence of their northern brethren. They do not believe, that, as yet, the contagion of abolition is incurable. But from the rapid progress of the malady in the non-slaveholding states, for a few months, past, the committee find an assurance, that unless it be speedily checked, the days of this republic are numbered. The treacherous cry of peace! peace! when there is no peace! has hitherto lulled to silence the confiding south. In the opinion of the committee the crisis demands an explicit declaration to the north, that if they desire a continuance of the Union, and a commercial intercourse with us, they must suppress this fatal treason of their citizens. If the people of any state desire the abolition of slavery, they will, and they ought to effect it—but let them beware how they dictate such abolition to other states. The slave states understand their constitutional rights, and they know how to exercise and how to defend them. The undersigned will not condescend to reason with fanatics of any denomination whatever. But they will not treat as altogether insignificant a subject of such a character, as that of Abolition, so long as the leading politicians and statesmen of the north, seem to remain quiet on the subject. For, while the undersigned have much reliance upon the virtue and intelligence of the northern people, and are reluctant even to distrust their leading statesmen, they cannot longer pardon their apathy and indifference, in not at once quelling the coming storm. Let their public sentiments, and their leading politicians all speak out in language that cannot be misunderstood. Let the virtuous and intelligent speak out, in the voice of thunder, to that fanatical band. Let them know and feel, while plotting treason, which is at least virtually countenanced by our northern confederates, that the slave states, will not longer continue their commercial intercourse with them. Let them know 'and feel, that such a measure, however, disastrous it may be to our mutual interests, will be the inevitable consequence of a perseverance in their mad career.

The undersigned, feel confident, that slavery, throughout the South and West, is not felt as an evil, moral or political, but it is recognized with reference to the actual, and not to any Utopian condition of our slaves, as a blessing both to master and slave; that under the influence of this system, some of our western forests, like those of New England, have been reduced to cultivation—cities, towns and villages have sprung up as if by magic; the whole country has become overspread with a happy, and enlightened and enterprising race of men. Under this system, the Arts have eminently flourished. Science has been successfully cultivated; Commerce, in all her ramifications, has been cherished and promoted. It is not true, as is foolishly imagined by these fanatical disturbers of the public repose, that slavery is an evil, even to those who are subject to it, in the southern and western States. But in truth, the condition of our negroes is infinitely more comfortable than that of the poor working class of the north.

They are more contented, more exempt from care and harassment of every kind, and more abundantly supplied with the necessities of life, and would evidently suffer serious detriment by an exchange of condition with them. Why, then, this eternal uproar about the poor slaves of the south? Why this mad crusade against the quiet and repose of the southern people?—Why this absurd and cruel attempt to engage an ignorant race in dangers, that must inevitably tighten fetters, whose pressure they do not now feel, consume thousands in a hopeless struggle; in an object, which if attained, they would not be able to appreciate, and drag them down from that station of contented felicity where they now repose, to a condition fraught with a thousand evils, which language is too feeble successfully to portray!

That there are among us, cruel and tyrannical owners of slaves, the committee will readily admit; but they are few indeed, and their cruelty and tyranny are more effectually discountenanced, and seriously deprecated by the great mass of our slave owners, as well as condemned by our legal regulations, than by the hypocritical ranting and crocodile tears of these abolition fanatics.—Impressed with a sincere conviction, that the motives of the leading abolitionists are anti-republican, anti-Christian, and in the highest degree atrocious; that their objects are shockingly unholy, and fendish; that their evident aim, however incompetent they may be to attain it, is to drench the southern states in blood, ravage them with fire, and scourge them with discord and commotion, the undersigned do recommend the adoption of the following resolutions, to wit:

1. Resolved, That we behold with deep abhorrence and indignation the unauthorized movements now in progress in several states of this confederacy, with a view of effectuating the immediate abolition of slavery in the southern and south-western portion of the Union; that we hold these movements to be indicative of undisguised enmity to the vital interests of the south and south-west; and that we will resist them in any shape and form which they assume, by the employment of all our energies, physical and moral, for their counteraction.

2. Resolved, That it is our decided opinion, that any individual who dares to circulate, with a view to effectuate the designs of the abolitionists, any of the incendiary tracts, or newspapers, now in a course of transmission to this country, is justly worthy in the sight of GOD AND MAN, OF IMMEDIATE DEATH; and we do not but that such would be the punishment of any such offender in any part of the state of Mississippi, where he may be found.

3. Resolved, That we would regard the establishment of an abolition newspaper among us, as a direct attempt to imperil the lives and fortunes of the whole population, and that it will be the duty of every good citizen to break up by any means that may be necessary, every such nefarious design.

4. Resolved, That it is our opinion that the movements of every stranger from the North who may come among us

at the present moment should be carefully watched, and all suspicious persons passing through the country without satisfactory testimonials of good moral character should be prevented from having the slightest communication with our slaves.

5. Resolved, That in the event of a continuance of the present unprincipled operations at the North, against the sacred rights of property, and our domestic peace and safety, we would hold it expedient, and do recommend to our fellow citizens, to have no commercial intercourse whatever with the infected region.

6. Resolved, That we do recommend to our fellow-citizens of the South, in general, the immediate formation of committees of vigilance and safety in every village and neighborhood, in order to decry and counteract the earliest movements of these enemies to our happiness and social quiet.

7. Resolved, That among the citizens of most of the non-slaveholding states, genuine philanthropy will find ample range for its exertions amidst the thousands of dependent and enslaved inmates of their factories, and a lack-lantern tenantry of a bloated aristocracy.

8. Resolved, That the respective states containing abolition societies and public presses, whose efforts are extended to the state of Mississippi and the town of Clinton in particular, are, in the opinion of this meeting, hereby held responsible for all the discontent, oppression, cruelty, stripes and carnage which will be inevitably consequent, unless speedily arrested, upon their fanatical movements.

9. Resolved, That we recommend to the citizens of Mississippi, to encourage the cause of the American Colonization Society, so long as in good faith it concentrates its energies alone to the free people of color out of the United States.

10. Resolved, That the clergy of the state of Mississippi be hereby recommended, at once to take a stand upon this subject, and that their further silence in relation thereto, at this crisis will, in our opinion, be subject to serious censure.

On motion of Thomas Harney, the following resolutions were added.

11. Resolved, That any act of Congress emancipating the slaves in the District of Columbia will be perilous to the stability of this Union, and that any such decisive action, on the part of the federal government, will be regarded as conclusive proof of a determined and preconcerted plan for attacking the vital interests of the southern and south-western states, in wresting from them the institution of slavery over which Congress has no control.

12. Resolved, That we decidedly approve the manly stand taken by M. M. Noah, editor of the New York Evening Star, and other northern editors in defense of southern interests—in vindicating our rights against abolition fanatics.

On motion of J. B. Morgan,

13. Resolved, That we highly approve of the course pursued by the Post Masters at New York and Charleston, in boldly and fearlessly withholding from circulation abolition tracts and papers—by refusing to deliver them or transmit them by mail from their offices.

14. Resolved, That this board do earnestly recommend to the Post Master at Clinton, a due exercise of that discretionary power tacitly conceded to him in the communication from the Post Master General; and entreat him to exert it in withholding from circulation such letters, papers &c., as he may ascertain, or have sufficient reason to believe, to have emanated from the press or pen of an abolitionist or amalgamator; and deliver them only to the committee of Vigilance and Safety, to undergo their scrutiny and abide the fate of their decision.

15. Resolved, that a committee of nineteen persons be appointed, consisting of the following gentlemen:—James S. Montgomery, B. W. Edwards, H. G. Johnston, Gideon Fitz, J. R. Nicholson, H. S. Foote, J. B. Morgan, J. McLarn, A. Hutchison, R. H. Buckner, C. Mead, John H. Norton, F. A. Johns, Raymond Robertson, James McRaven, Thomas Harney, Wm. M. Rives, S. W. Dickson, and R. G. Davenport, to constitute a committee of vigilance for the town of Clinton and its vicinity, any seven of whom to constitute a quorum.

On motion of J. Bledsoe,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Clinton Gazette, and all other papers whose columns are open to similar proceedings.

Resolved, That the Chairman and Secretary sign the proceedings.

The meeting adjourned sine die.

JOHN H. NORTON, Chairman.

GEO. H. GRAY, Secretary.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

House of Representatives.

The Chair pronounced his decision on the point of order raised on yesterday, in reference to the vote on the first resolution reported by the select committee on the subject of the abolition of Slavery.—The decision, in substance, was, that the decision of the main question after the call for the previous question was recorded by the House, could not be arrested by the refusal of any member to vote; and that the question of excusing any member or members from voting must be settled after the decision on the main question had been announced. The Chair was proceeding accordingly to announce the decision on the vote of yesterday.

When Mr. Whittlesley, of Ohio, appealed from the decision of the Chair, and asked for the yeas and nays, which were ordered, and were yeas 138 nays 46.

So the House determined that the decision of the Chair should stand as the judgment of the House.

The Chair then announced the vote of yesterday on the first resolution reported by the select committee, which declares that Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this confederacy.

The vote on this resolution stood, yeas 182, nays 9.

So the first resolution was adopted.

The question recurred on the subsequent branch of the main question, which is as follows:—"Resolved that Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia,"—on which resolution the yeas and nays were ordered, and were, yeas 133, nays 45.

So the second resolution was adopted; Mr. Adams asked to be excused from voting, and Messrs. Granger and Wise refusing to vote.

The question then recurred on the third branch of the main question, viz. the Preamble which urges, as a means of allaying the excitement, the adoption of an additional resolution, declaring that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions and other papers relating in any way to the subject of slavery, should without being referred especially, be laid on the table, and that no further action should be had thereon.

After some desultory conversation, elicited on a point of order, pending the discussion of which Mr. Whittlesley, of Ohio, called for the orders of the day.

On motion of Mr. Pinckney, the House suspended the rule, to proceed with the consideration of the subject under consideration.

Mr. Phillips moved to lay the Preamble and additional resolution on the table.

Mr. Grennell called for the yeas and nays which were ordered, and were—yeas 69, nays 118.

The motion to lay the preamble and additional resolution on the table was lost.

The question then recurred on the adoption of the second preamble and resolution:—on which question the yeas and nays were ordered.—

The name of Mr. Adams having been called, he rose and said, "I hold this resolution to be a violation of the Constitution of the United States, of the rules of this House, and of the rights of my constituents." These words were pronounced amidst very loud cries for order.

A Virginian's opinion of the effects of Slavery.

We copy the following eloquent extract from the speech of Mr. Faulkner, in the debate on slavery in the Virginia Legislature, in 1832. It is a bold, frank and honorable avowal of the turpitude of slavery, from one who abides in its very midst, and whose testimony therefore is entitled to credit, as that of an eye witness. It proves, too, that however southerners may disguise their real sentiments on this subject, its true character and influence is felt and acknowledged, even among themselves. Without further comment, we ask for it the candid perusal of our readers.

Franklin Freeman.

Mr. FAULKNER said—"Sir, I am gratified to perceive that no gentleman has yet risen in this hall the avowed advocate of slavery. The day has gone by, when such a voice could be listened to with patience or even forbearance. I even regret, Sir, that we should find one among us, who enters the lists as its apologist, except on the ground of uncontrollable necessity. If there be one who concurs with the gentleman from Brunswick (Mr. Ghosson) in the harmless character of this institution, let me request him to compare the condition of the slaveholding portion of this commonwealth—barren, desolate, and scared, as it were by the avenging hand of Heaven, with the descriptions which we have of the same country from those who first broke its virgin soil. To what is this change ascribable? Alone, to the withering and blasting effects of slavery. If this does not satisfy him, let me request him to extend his travels to the northern states of this Union—and beg him to contrast the happiness and contentment which prevails throughout the country—the busy and cheerful sound of industry—the rapid and swelling growth of their population—the means and institutions of education—their skill and proficiency in the useful arts—their enterprise and public spirit—the monuments of their commercial and manufacturing industry; and above all, their devoted attachment to the government from which they derive their protection, with the division, discontent, indolence and poverty of the southern country. To what, sir, is all this ascribable? To, that vice in the organization of society, by which one half of its inhabitants are arrayed in interest and feeling against the other half—to that unfortunate state of society in which freemen regard labor as disgraceful, and slaves shrink from it as a burden tyrannically imposed upon them—to that condition of things, in which half a million of your population can feel no sympathy with the society, and in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate—no attachment to a government at whose hands they receive nothing but injustice."

West India Emancipation.

A correspondent of the New York Commercial Advertiser, writing from the West Indies, thus notices the efforts of the English Government to Abolition in the British Islands:

I have alluded to the English Islands. The state of things in these Islands has become a matter of great interest to the whole civilized world. The English have attempted, most honorably, to solve the just problem of extinguishing negro slavery. Whether they have taken the wisest course is much disputed among the wisest—while sciolists, who imagine, that problems in the government of men, like those of mathematics, may be worked out from one or two simple data, decide peremptorily, that the experiment originated in folly, and will end in defeat. The problem was one of great complication. The state of the negroes was on no two islands alike, in reference to their capacity for freedom, and yet it would have been impracticable to have legislated for them differently. Though I do not suppose that the experiment will have such success as the friends of humanity would wish, yet, excepting a few oversights, I cannot conceive what wiser course could have been adopted. It is always easier to induce evils than to get rid of them, and it shows great want of sagacity, as well as of observation of the progress of society, to suppose that the evils of slavery are to be healed at once and without trouble.

In Antigua, the slaves are free, and all is quiet and orderly. The laborers do their work regularly for wages, and the planters have much less trouble than in any reason they might have anticipated. Why? Antigua is a small and thickly peopled island. Its black population has been for fifty years under religious instruction by Moravians and Methodists, and since the organization of the English church in the West Indies, by the appointment of the bishop of Barbadoes, &c. its clergy have increased and become more efficient laborers in this important field. It would be difficult to find more devoted or more skillful laborers than the Archdeacon of Antigua, and the Episcopal clergy of that Island. Christianity, which has every where been the parent of modern civilization, and which has given strength to every government, has prepared the sable population of Antigua, to be governed like men. So far as I can learn, there is no part of our own country, of the same extent and population, in which the people are better supplied with faithful pastors, attend in greater proportion, and more regularly the public worship of God, and more regular in their lives, and more obedient to the laws.

In Barbadoes, the blacks are, yet, apprentices; but in that small and populous island, the number of clergy is large, and these are under the watchful eye of the bishop, who has directed much of his attention to the wants of the black population. The consequence is, that the apprentices are quiet and willing to labor, but instead of any depreciation of property, in consequence of the new system, a gentleman who left Barbadoes in January, after a residence of some months, assured me that real estate had advanced twenty-five per cent.

In Jamaica, which has immense quantities of unappropriated land, to which a discontented negro can escape and get a living almost without labor, from the spontaneous productions of a fertile soil—in which the negroes have received comparatively, little religious instruction—the system does not work so well. But if we take the report of the governor of that Island, it works better than the planters are disposed to allow. But even its failures are far from being attributable to the negroes themselves—as men are wont, when suddenly deprived of authority, but kept still in command, but on more humble terms, of those whom they have been accustomed to rule with absolute sway—the overseers and book-keepers in Jamaica have shown an irascible spirit, sought rather to irritate than conciliate the negroes, and instead of endeavoring to farther, have rather sought to embarrass the effects of the government. I speak of what I understand, from various sources, to be the general state of things in that Island—there are doubtless very many honorable exceptions. The evil is increased in Jamaica, by the non-residence of

he proprietors, which, I understand to be quite general—for overseers have quite a different feeling toward the negroes, from that of the owners—and the negroes themselves are shrewd enough to understand, that it is the master rather than his deputy, who feels most interest in their health and comfort, and they give him, of course, the greater share of confidence.

It is impossible, as I have said, that so great a revolution should be effected, without some evils; and in the best managed Islands, there are cases of insubordination and difficulty. But when Religion and proper instruction have prepared the way, the difficulties in a great measure disappear; and the transition state, which the apprenticeship system was intended to be, may as in Antigua, be dispensed with.

In these remarks, too long for a letter like this, and too brief to give distinct information, I have given you very general impressions, and you will perceive that I anticipate good from the measures of the British Government. I believe that in the general plan, they proceed wisely—and that although there will be many incidental evils springing up in the progress of the change, such as could neither be foreseen, nor, if foreseen, prevented; yet, that the interests of humanity will be promoted, and a high duty honorably discharged.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Letter to Alexander Campbell,

NUMBER III.

Having shown what your sentiments were in 1832 while the question of Emancipation was before the Legislature of Virginia, I shall introduce additional evidence in support of the proposition in my last letter, that you were, at that period, opposed to slavery on Christian principles, because, as you then declared, "it is a system of injustice, tyranny, and oppression." This, sir, is the fundamental doctrine of the abolitionists, from which they deduce the conclusion, that it is a violation of the laws of God and the rights of man, and can never be permitted to exist in the church of Christ, without incurring his displeasure. If one system of injustice can be reconciled to the gospel, all systems of injustice may, by the same process of reasoning. Against this latitudinous method of procuring indulgence in the commission of sin, the abolitionists have entered their protest; they confidently believe that there can be no communion between Christ and Babel—between the justice of God and the injustice of man—between love and oppression, mercy and tyranny—this is the head and front of their offending, for which they are denounced by those covetous, hollow hearted Christians, who are lovers of pleasure more than of God.

In Vol. 6. No. 7. page 331—2 of the Millennial Harbinger you say "there is indeed a healthy, rational and scriptural reform of this great and growing evil, much wanted; which, as an incipient measure, is certainly practicable, and absolutely necessary to our pleading of reformation. No Christian can, on any principle of humanity, or, the gospel, sell a wife from a husband; or a husband from a wife; or, an infant from its parents, or parents from their infant offspring, under any pretence whatever; and no laws of any state can justify any Christian man in keeping his slaves ignorant of God—of Jesus Christ or the Bible-facts, any more than the laws of Greece and Rome could have compelled the first Christians to have worshipped idols. Of all this, I have no more doubt than I have that Jesus is the Messiah." The sentiments contained in this extract are very good—and I must beg the reader to bear them in mind. In the first place it is assumed that "slavery is a great and growing evil demanding reform." 2. That, reformation is absolutely necessary, and entirely practicable. 3. That, Christians have no right, under any pretence whatever, to separate, by sale, parents and children, husbands and wives. 4. Christians are bound to give their servants instruction, penal laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

When these positions are examined in all their bearings they will be found to contain almost every thing contended for, by the friends of abolition. It will be observed, however, that you, in acknowledging slavery to be an evil, carefully avoided any specification. You have kept in the line of safe precedents—you do not say whether it is a moral or physical, political, or religious evil; or whether the master or the slave, is its subject. The presumption is strong, from the fact, that you propose a reformation, in reference to it, that you consider it a moral or religious evil. If it is not a moral evil, as a Reformer, you have nothing to do with it. That you regard it as peculiarly affecting the slave, I infer from the fact, that you propose to restrict the power of the master—thereby to obviate the unhappy consequences that result to parents and children, husbands and wives, from its unreasonable demands.—Taking this view of the subject, viz: that it is a moral evil, fastened upon the slave by the master, under which he groans in "degradation, ignorance, and vice, and for which the master alone is responsible to God, let us see in what light the oppressor stands, if he professes christianity. Paul tells Christians to "abhor evil and cleave to that which is good," and he also enjoins upon them to abstain from the least appearance of evil. Now, sir, if slavery is, what you declare it to be—an evil—how dare any Christian to persist in it? Look at the matter in the light of truth,—the whole slaveholding population, saint and sinner, have for years past, under a solemn league and covenant encouraged, prolonged and strengthened the evil willingly, wittingly, and understandingly—church and state—priests and people, have united in pledges and political agreements to perpetuate the crime of robbing the poor and the helpless negro—and all the time deploring the evil! Speciously attributing it to the very laws which they themselves helped to make and which they have as yet shown no desire to repeal! But brother Campbell, you now find, that since they have been judged out of their own mouths, and inconsistency made manifest, they have changed the tune, and no longer chant lamentations for their unfortunate circumstances, and peculiar situation—but openly and exultingly assert that it is no evil at all.—The first Christians had slaves and were not rebuked for it by the apostles. Here, now, is an end of the whole matter—and if you will turn your attention to the records of public meetings recently held in the South, to denounce abolition, you will find that they have thrown off the mask and have roundly asserted, that slavery is no evil but a blessing. Christian professors of almost every denomination, it is believed, have mingled in meetings gotten up to make proclamation of this truth; and ecclesiastical bodies have manifested no great reluctance in approximating to the same sentiment. I know many of our brethren personally, who are slaveholders and they all, without exception, have taken the ground, that slavery is *neither* and that it is a relation recognised by the apostles. Under this view of the subject, they look upon all ideas of reform, as absurd, and esteem every suggestion of the kind, according to the fashion of the times, as highly incendiary.

I could not have believed, that the essays of Bro. Scott, and others could have had such an effect. Those brethren may rest assured, that their writings have ministered the wormwood and the gall to many a poor slave. They are welcome to all the consolation they can derive from the reflection, that they have quieted the scruples of slaveholders, for the sake of maintaining the numerical strength of the church, and have shown, how Christians

can be conformed to this world, in riveting fetters upon their fellow men, after the example of the haters of God and of good men. They may take to themselves the credit of bidding inquiry, *God speed*—and find their reward in the approbation, smiles, and applause of sordid avarice. The sweat and blood of the oppressed in the land (or rather in the church) will be evidence of their successful lubrications in support of slavery—but the cries of the perishing are heard by the Lord of hosts, who will make the cankered gold, and moth eaten garments swift witnesses, not only against oppressors, but against those who sing sweet lull-a-bys, to their consciences.

But, brother Campbell, if the gospel furnishes authority for slavery, as it exists in the United States, and as many of our teachers in the free states admit—upon what principle do you contend, that it is an evil? The relation of parents and children, husbands and wives, king and subjects, masters and servants existed in the days of the apostles, and do now exist. The relation of master and servant subsists in the free states, where involuntary servitude is prohibited by law. Upon what ground do you maintain, that these relations are evils? The apostles have not said that they are such—surely you must believe that American Slavery is something different from that servitude of which the apostles speak. You cannot evade the difficulty, by saying, that it is only the abuse of the relation, that you propose to reform—for you have, more than once, advocated the total abolishment of the relation itself, you have urged emancipation as a Christian duty. The conclusion is clear, that you regard slavery as a system of injustice, at variance with humanity and religion—and therefore a proper subject for reform. To what extent reformation is necessary, you do not say. As an incipient measure, you recommend the relinquishment of a right which is an essential element of slavery and one which slaveholders have always deemed sacred—the right to sell their slaves regardless of natural ties. This position of yours strikes at the very foundation of slavery, it implies that slaves are not property—that man cannot hold his fellow man as he does his goods and chattels.—If this is not the proper construction, then it is folly to say "that Christians can under no pretence whatever sell their slaves. Slaves are property; no man questions the right of their owners to sell them, when and to whom they please. So with lands and tenements. Take away the right of the master to sell his slaves, and you destroy the basis of the system upon which this right depends—you place his slaves upon a footing with their children or upon some other footing different from what they are at present. It will be recollected, however, that this is but an incipient measure—the mere entering wedge of reform. Let us see how it agrees with your views, of a more recent date, in the 12th No. Vol. 6. of the Millennial Harbinger, page 588, you say, "I hold as sacred the rights of the South to their slaves, as I do the rights of the North to their land, I would therefore, no more think of wresting the slave from his master, than I would the land from its owner, without a full and satisfactory consideration. I would discountenance, by all the sanctions and solemnities of religion, morality, and political statute, every interference, either in the form of abolition or any other society aiming at impairing the right, authority or interest of the master in, or over, his slave." This sentiment, if I mistake not, completely neutralizes your incipient measure of reform, which contemplates the surrender of a very important right. But the worst of it is, you have closed the door upon yourself by discountenancing every interference aiming at impairing this right, it matters not in what way that interference is attempted,—whether in the form of abolition Societies, religious teaching, moral suasion, or church discipline—all must be discountenanced—lest they should impair the right of the master to his slave, which you say is as sacred as the right of the northern people to their lands. Now, I should like to know, in what way you expected to promote "a healthy, rational, and scriptural reform of this great and growing evil, if all interference, in any shape, with the irresponsible power of the master is to be made contraband? Not a word is spoken calling in question the rights of the master,—all data from which we are to be able to judge of the nature and extent of the evil and its appropriate remedy must be suppressed, but yet the reform is, as you say, 'absolutely necessary.' But the plan of operation is couched in the phrase 'full and satisfactory consideration'—here lies the secret. The weapons of this warfare upon an acknowledged moral evil, are to be 'carnal.' The cash, is to achieve the victory—buy out Satan, and obtain a cession of the disputed territory.

It cannot be denied, that in urging your 'incipient measure' your aim was to impair a legal right, vested in Christian slaveholders—a right guaranteed to them by 'political statute.' Yet every attempt to weaken, abridge or impair the recognised legal rights of the master, whether that right be exercised in buying selling, or maltreating, by the most cruel inflictions of corporal punishment, you would 'discountenance by all the sanctions of religion, morality and public statute.' Religion itself as you suppose, makes it your duty to repudiate all arguments, either verbal or written, addressed to the Christian master, designed to convince him that he exercises under the color of arbitrary and unjust laws, a sinful and unwarrantable power over his fellow creature. The Bible is, by implication, referred to, as furnishing authority against every effort to push forward this 'healthy, rational and scriptural reform. Strange as this may appear, 'the sanctions of religion,' are brought in collision with scriptural reform.' All that the master claims, as rights secured him 'by bonds, political agreements and pledges' are to be coincided under 'the solemn sanctions of religion and morality.' The conclusion, then is, that, neither humanity, morality, nor religion are at variance with slavery, and therefore, no reform is necessary.

But there is another sentiment, in your last essay, totally irreconcilable with your former professions upon this subject. It is as strong a pro-slavery doctrine as ever was taught in South Carolina, and one which if universally admitted, would render all Gospel means for the reformation of the evil of slavery utterly fruitless and of no effect. If the South as you say 'have the same right to the slaves, as the North have to their lands,' Emancipation can never be accomplished by the force of Christian obligation and duty—especially if that right is sustained by the 'sanctions of religion.' Neither charity nor benevolence can effect this moral revolution; no man in his sober senses would ask a land-holder to give up his land, as a measure of duty. Having an indefeasible right to his land, founded in necessity and recognised and guaranteed by the laws of the land, he cannot feel any compunction of conscience for not giving up his title, and the occupancy of the soil 'without a full and satisfactory consideration.' The same reason applies to the slaveholder upon your own premises. Their rights are the same in your estimation—and as it would be as unjust to require the 'slaveholder to emancipate his slaves before he obtains the fellowship of the Christian Church, as to require the land-holder to relinquish his land, the former can no more realize guilt in the refusal to manumit his slaves, than the latter in refusing to part with his realty. So that it comes to this—that Emancipation is not a religious or moral duty, obligatory upon the Christian master, but to sell his unfortunate victims to those who may through motives of benevolence, offer the redemption price, is all that the master ought to do—the

full and satisfactory consideration must be forthcoming, before the slave can be freed, and that must be paid by such Christians, as do not wish to see the church of God dishonored and polluted by the foul abomination. The disciple who holds his fellow man in ignorance and captivity, must be paid for doing right, in letting the oppressed go free. Virtuous actions must be rewarded by filthy lucre. Mammon must cleanse the desecrated temple of the most High—and redeem the church from the disgrace of slavery.

But let us, for a moment, pay some attention to another item of your incipient measure of reform. Viz:—That, no laws of any state can justify any Christian man in keeping his slaves ignorant of God, of Jesus Christ and the gospel facts. The instruction of the slaves of Christian masters you regard as a duty, but do not specify the method in which that instruction is to be imparted. Whether it is to be communicated by reading to them the scriptures, or by qualifying them to read for themselves, we are left to conjecture. It is well known, however, that you have always been the advocate of the latter mode, and that you have insisted upon the necessity and propriety of every man's searching the scriptures, and judging for himself; and this we know is both reasonable and proper, as every man has to give an account of himself in the day of judgment. I know of no laws in any of the slave states, that interdict the religious instruction of slaves by their master; he may read the Bible to them, and comment, as much as he pleases, upon its facts and testimony, without incurring any penalty. If you intended this as the measure of instruction, there was no use for an intimation, that it ought to be done in defiance of penal statutes. But the idea is embraced in what you have said, that penal laws do now exist in opposition to the plan of instruction which you recommend. It must then be inferred, that you meant the instruction of slaves in the elementary branches of English education, so far as to qualify them to read the Bible. This, sir, is the instruction prohibited by the laws of the slave states, and this is, indeed, the instruction that is withheld and denied under the sanction of law. Let me, now ask, how far those laws have been disregarded by Christian masters? Can you produce a solitary instance, in which they are now giving this kind of instruction to their slaves? I will venture to say, you cannot. I speak of the Reformer, how many of them have petitioned the legislatures of their respective states for a repeal of those arbitrary laws? Not an instance has ever occurred, that has come to my knowledge. So far from endeavoring to effect an amelioration in the rigorous policy of their laws, they are giving their aid and countenance to it—they approve the laws which you advise them to disobey—their feelings and sentiments are averse to any relaxation in the enactments on this subject. Recur to the scene at Nashville, in which a noted Reformer was concerned. What does Bro. Scott say in reference to the feelings of southern Reformers? In a letter to me, he states that he lost fifty subscribers in one day, in consequence of admitting a discussion of slavery into his Evangelist, and let me ask you, brother Campbell, if it is not true, that you have been warned by many of your slaveholding subscribers, that, if you took a stand against slavery, that they would immediately withdraw their patronage from your paper? Have they not told you, how far you may go in writing and speaking on this subject?

As a friend to reformation, I shall always think that your better judgment has yielded to popular clamor—and that the encouragement you have given to our slaveholding brethren, to continue the system of slavery, will prove a misfortune to the cause of Christian morals—and ultimately prove the ruin of the Church. At present, the symptoms of disaffection are but trifling, it is true. But it is impossible, that the good sense and moral feeling of a large portion of the community can long brook the odious institution of unconditional servitude. It is too repulsive to reason, humanity and religion to withstand, the spirit of inquiry that is abroad in the land. It must go down, and it is monstrous and absurd, to think of tolerating it in the Church of the living God. That the Disciples, or Reformers, who boast of their intelligence in the Christian Scriptures, and of the excellence and purity of their practice, and proudly claim the high honor of restoring the Ancient Gospel to its pristine splendor—of dispelling the mist and darkness of the grand apostasy—of ushering in the glorious era of the Millennium and universal holiness—that these people, I say, ostensibly the teachers of the pure and unadulterated principles of gospel righteousness, should give their deliberate approbation and consent, to a system of cruelty, tyranny and crime, that debases, brutalizes, and grinds to the dust two millions of their fellow immortals, is preposterous.

Yours in charity,
NAT. FIELD.

Southern Excitement.

An excitement has recently pervaded the southern portion of this republic, hardly equalled in times of peace in any age. Its existence has been shown in lawless mobs, in public scourgings, in hangings, and acts of brutal violence, which have recently disgraced certain sections of our land. The South alone, has not been the scene of riot. Men of 'respectability and standing' in the free states have boldly trampled upon the rights of their immediate neighbors, in obedience to the mandate of the South. It will be my object to enquire into the causes of the excitement in the slaveholding states, with particular reference to the future action of abolitionists. Different causes have undoubtedly operated upon different individuals. Some believe, that it has been the object of Abolitionists to excite an insurrection of the slaves—and others fear only the operation of Abolition principles upon the consciences of masters.

1st. I will consider the causes of the apprehensions of those who fear, the movements of abolitionists will produce insurrection,—that we may be enabled effectually to disabuse their minds, and convince them, that ours is a labor of love.

This impression may be mainly attributed to the wicked misrepresentations of our character and purposes, by northern periodicals. New York is the great commercial emporium of America. The eyes of all are turned towards it. Its commercial papers are circulated through the whole Union, and are depended upon at the South, as well as the North, as the source of general intelligence. The South can see no sufficient reason that should induce northern papers to misrepresent the motives and objects of abolitionists. 'They all, or nearly all, profess to be opposed to slavery, and why should they try to destroy the influence of those who are laboring to persuade the South to abolish this system which they confess to be iniquitous? It must be true, that abolitionists are certainly as bad, and probably, worse than their neighbors represent them. But if political papers should be guilty sometimes of deception, we must place confidence in religious periodicals, of established character; and when they characterize Abolitionists as 'incendiaries, fanatics,' &c.

how can we longer doubt respecting their character and objects.' Such would be the natural reasoning of those who have no opportunities of knowing the truth. Such is the reasoning of the South.

The writer, while residing in a slave-holding Territory, found the influence of northern prints, as well as of northern travellers, the greatest obstacle to be encountered in the dissemination of truth. Deeming it of great consequence to disabuse the minds of those with whom he came in contact, respecting the objects of abolitionists, that if possible they might be brought to listen to their friendly admonitions, he thought it his duty to endeavor to convince them, that abolitionists were their real friends, and sought their best welfare. They instantly appealed to the almost unanimous voice of the northern press, of all political parties, and religious persuasions, which united in denouncing abolitionists as "insurrectionists," "cut-throats" &c., "and they triumphantly added, can all these be mistaken! Surely not. What motives have they for deceiving us? It was difficult to convince them, that northern prejudice was so strong, or that even Yankee or Jewish avarice, which, they know, seldom scrupled at any thing, to obtain its object, could influence publishers, so to belie the character of their neighbors, and needlessly alarm the fears of half the Union.

Not only have Northern papers used their influence to deceive the South, but most Northern emigrants and travellers, have brought deception and flattery almost to a system. To impose upon the "open-hearted," "high-minded," planter with success, northern speculators carry their favor, by justifying slavery, and representing all those who would persuade them to abandon their system, as enemies of the South. This is no surmise. I have known northern men, who have, at the South, officiated at public meetings, and signed resolutions representing abolitionists, as aiming to cause insurrection and servile war—who have acknowledged in private, that they believed the motives of abolitionists pure, and that they wished only the peaceable abolition of slavery. Their motives for taking such a course need not be mentioned.

The slanderous and inflammatory resolutions of public meetings, at the north, opposed to abolition, have tended greatly to strengthen the south in their opinion of abolitionists. On the heads then of northern editors, of northern travellers, and northern demagogues, be the responsibility of exciting those fears of insurrection, which have caused so much alarm. Abolitionists, of all others, have the greatest reason to dread insurrection. Though it might convince the master of the danger of slavery, yet under exasperated feelings, he would sooner think of extermination than emancipation. Every blow which the slave strikes for himself, must put further off that glorious day of his full and peaceable emancipation, for whose speedy coming we labor. Abolitionists being thus misrepresented to the slaveholder, need we wonder, that he should be excited, as he has been, almost to madness. What would be our feelings, did we believe, that an extensive conspiracy was abroad, to introduce among us secret enemies, (as haply by our own laws we have not made a large class of our population our enemies,) and to stimulate them to take the first opportunity of butchering us? We should feel as some at the South feel, who by the interested and fraudulent misrepresentations of some of our fellow citizens, believe, that we are plotting their ruin. Have we, then, nothing to do at the north? When prejudice and the love of gain, stronger than the love of free institutions, induces northern men, to try to destroy the influence of the enemies of slavery, shall we lie still? Surely not. But while we labor to show the south the falsity of their impression, we should continue our exertions for rendering slavery—not slaveholders—odious at the north.

2nd. Another reason why slaveholders dread the labors of abolitionists.—They fear that the opinion of the world will be arrayed against them. The south is highly sensitive upon points of honor. She wishes to be thought "noble and chivalrous" abroad, and the prospect of being pronounced by the world, "dishonorable—guilty of robbing the poor of his wages," galls their pride; and rather than endure it, they fear they might be forced to abandon even the "divine institution" of slavery itself. "Are we," says the South Carolina legislature—"are we to wait until our enemies have built up by the grossest misrepresentations and falsehoods, a body of public opinion against us, which it would be almost impossible to resist, without separating ourselves from the social system of the rest of the civilized world?" What those misrepresentations are, they failed to show, but, from personal observation, I am prepared to assert, that the representations of abolitionists, respecting the cruelties of slavery, do not exceed the truth; that fear of the whip or exile is universally held up to the slave, as the spring of action; and can he fear, what is not fearful?

Experience shows, that as a general rule, a community will not long persist in any course of conduct, in face of the world's frown. If that course be manifestly wrong, and leading to ruin, the community pursuing it feels peculiarly sore at the "officious intermeddling" of others; and generally, in proportion as this feeling is manifested, may we hope for a change. Indifference is the greatest enemy of reform. The anxiety manifested at the south, that those engaged in turning public opinion against their "domestic institutions" should be "mobbed," "hung without benefit of clergy," and that freedom of speech and the press should be, at the north, as it is at the south, sacrificed at the shrine of slavery—shows that, we have not indifference to contend with; that public opinion at the north has an influence on them; and that they fear the effects of the general diffusion of anti-slavery principles abroad. What shall be our future course? Clearly, *reverse*. When we see the defenders of the citadel tremble, shall we falter? We war not against men, neither do we use the weapons of misrepresentation and falsehood. Slavery is our enemy, Truth our weapon. The defenders of servitude show most sensitiveness when their system is attacked in the most vulnerable part. Let us then labor to 'build up, against'—not "them"—but the system they defend, "a public opinion,"—the moral power of which "it will be impossible

to resist." Let it be so pure that a slaveholder could not reside among us, without hearing a kind, but firm reproof for his oppression; that every man who travels south would testify, by example and precept against the enormity of slavery—and the system must be driven from its, almost, last strong-hold in Christendom.

Not only do slave-holders fear the moral effects of the public opinion of the world being directed against their system, but they apprehend, that the truths promulgated by abolitionists will more immediately disturb their consciences, and that thereby they will be placed under a moral necessity of emancipating their slaves. A distinguished champion of slavery writes as follows: "We believe we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences of slave-holders themselves, from the insinuations of their dangerous heresies, into our schools, our pulpits and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility upon the question of slavery, that abolitionists can accomplish their objects." This is the opinion of the more intelligent slave-holders, and it is precisely the object for which we are contending. Though the prejudices of education are great, and the influence of interest powerful, still slaveholders have a conscience which can be, and in many instances, has been, reached by the presentation of truth. Some may sincerely believe, that the object of abolitionists is, to cause insurrection—still they cannot be sincere in saying, that the circulation of abolition papers will produce it: for what slaveholders consider the most exceptional language of abolitionists has been widely circulated in their own prints, to which their slaves have greater opportunities of access than to papers sent from the north through the mail to their masters. No: they fear the operation of truth. Their consciences are with us. The defenders of slavery seek to drown its voice, by a storm. For a time they may succeed, but the tempest cannot last always. "Truth is mighty and will prevail." Hence the wrath of its enemies when they discern its progress.

But why do they so much dread emancipation? and why does the prospect of it cause so much excitement?

To these questions there are many answers. 1st. The possession of power is so fascinating, that it is seldom voluntarily relinquished. Instances are rare, where monarchs voluntarily resign their authority; and when slave-holders emancipate, they usually do it, by will, resigning their power only with their life.

2. By emancipation slave-holders lose their property. They have never been accustomed to question their right to the persons of their slaves. They consider them theirs, by the same right they held their lands or cattle. It need not excite our wonder, that, when they first hear their title disputed, they should be excited. 'Tis what intelligent abolitionists expected. But must we cease our efforts on that account? Nay—but rather redouble them.—Show them in a spirit of kindness, the eternal injustice of their claim. Demonstrate to them the great superiority of free, over slave labor, and that this supposed loss will be eventual gain. They have understandings and can be convinced. Point them to the miseries, the necessary result, of enforcing this claim. They have hearts and can feel. The very fact, that, to question their claim to men as "chattel," causes excitement, is a reproach to us, that we have not before called it in question—that we have suffered this claim to strengthen, as it were, by surfeiture; and it urges us to make up for our former supineness, by increased exertions in the cause of HUMAN RIGHTS.

3d. Slaveholders fear the effects of emancipation. They have been accustomed to extort labor, only by force—and they imagine that negroes never will labor, unless by compulsion. Hence the consequence of emancipation would be beggary, to both master and slave. Very fancy, that the slave upon being emancipated would turn and butcher his former master; that consequence of freedom has been reserved for the mere imaginative brain of northern apologists, for slavery. But some at the South do fear that rather than labor for support, the liberated slaves would live by plunder—or, if they labored at all, would work no more than would be sufficient for a bare subsistence. In view of such a state of things, as a consequence of emancipation, we are not surprised, that its prospects should cause motions of hostility towards its advocates. This impression has arisen from several causes. The history of emancipation has been misrepresented.—All have something to tell you of the "horrors of St. Domingo." The true history of that interesting Island has been kept in the dark. The wars which, at one time, almost desolated it, have been regarded as the consequence of emancipation, rather than attributed to their cause, the treachery and cruelties of the whites. This impression has been received from the party-colored statements of the exiles from the Island, and from the false accounts of pro-slavery writers. Even a great portion of the northern press, from ignorance or motives of interest, have kept back the truth, relative to the causes and progress of the Haitian Revolution.

The American press, both northern and southern, has, likewise, conspired to keep the public in ignorance of the progress of emancipation in the British West Indies. A disturbance, slight, to what yearly transpires among slaves is greatly exaggerated, and blazoned forth, as the horrible consequence of emancipation; while the general unexampled quiet and prosperity which, at present, pervade those islands, particularly Barbadoes, where emancipation is full and complete, are carefully kept back; lest probably an example of the good effects of universal liberty should prove contagious, and America become a nation of freemen. 'Tis strange that republicans should conceal truth, for fear of being compelled to admit man's capability of enjoying freedom! Strange, that editors professing to be opposed to slavery, should not hail with joy, facts proving the practicability of its safe abolition!

If, then, the prejudices of the South against emancipation, have been greatly owing to the perversion of facts attending it, in other countries—and if a large portion of the Northern, as well as the Southern press, has conspired to keep her in ignorance of these facts, it becomes our duty, while we do all in our power, directly to correct the South, also to labor to purify her channels of information at the North. Periodicals are usually the echo of public opinion. So long as the people are opposed to the abolition of slavery, and dislike the discussion of the subject, they will not welcome, either facts or argu-

ments at war with the system. Hence we see those seeking popular favor, belie even history. But when public attention shall be awakened to the consideration of the subject—when, instead of "no discussion," the popular cry shall be for "light!" then the truth will out: the interest of publishers will require them to give, not partial and false statements, but the full presentation of facts.—To bring about this feeling, we must continue our labors with the people—we must discuss, agitate, till a spirit of universal inquiry is generated. The people will then enjoy the full benefits of the lights of History, and the South would see, that the interest of the master, as well as the slave, demands the extermination of Slavery. It will be impossible, in the limits of this article, to attempt to show all the causes which have operated to produce the recent excitement at the South. The principal ones have been noticed, and they all, are either formed on a misapprehension of the objects of abolitionists, groundless fears of the effects of emancipation, or on a direct opposition to the principles upon which our government is founded. These false impressions, in regard to facts and principles, can be removed by the same force which has effected all moral revolutions. The great body of the South, are more likely to examine the foundation of their claim to man, than if the recent excitement had never existed. Their attention is called to the subject—their curiosity excited, and they will be induced, even if it be only to defend their claim, to make themselves acquainted with our principles. Instead of disheartening, this excitement should spur us forward. In a spirit of brotherly affection, we should continue our exertions till America be in reality, what it is in name—"the land of the free—the asylum of the oppressed."

SHARPE.

Elyria, April, 1836.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE 10, 1836.

To Correspondents.

"Sharpe," whose communication is inserted to-day, will find that others will not put on his essay, the same humble estimate, which he seemed inclined to put on it. We venture to say, that few pieces will be read by reflecting minds, with more pleasure or fuller approbation than his.

"A voice from the County." The occasion to which the writer especially refers, is almost too far gone by, to call for the publication of his piece.

Abolition Lectures.

James G. Birney, lectured on Sunday evening last in Mr. Dudley's church, in Fulton, a township and village, adjoining Cincinnati. This church is known as the 4th Presbyterian church, of Cincinnati.

Augustus Wattles, delivered lectures on Sunday afternoon and on Monday evening last, in the Christian (Baptist) Church in the village of Carthage—seven miles from this city.

In both instances, the auditories were numerous respectful and attentive—and what is better, undisturbed by any disorder from without.

New England Anti Slavery Convention.

There has been a most cheering Convention, held in Boston, by the friends of liberty. Five hundred Delegates were in attendance—and we are pleased to see, that Mr. Blagden's Church, was the place, in which the meetings were held. Last year, no Church in Boston, could be obtained. Some of the Daily Journals speak in high praise of the ability of the addresses, and of the noble spirit of those who were prominent in the meeting.

The particulars will be given next week.

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

This Ecclesiastical body commenced its annual session on the 19th of May. The first oblation made to the slave-holding portion of the Church, was to elect as their Moderator, a South Carolina slaveholder. Two memorials on the subject of slavery were presented. They were referred to the Committee on overtures without reading. This course was persisted in, as the old course, notwithstanding a member earnestly insisted on hearing one of them read. A report was presented and read by Dr. Miller, chairman of the committee on slavery, appointed at the previous session of the Gen. Assembly—the substance of which was, that no action should be had on it by the Assembly.

A counter report from the minority was read by Mr. Dicky, in which slavery is treated as a sin, and immediate and energetic action on it demanded.

These reports are made the order of the day for the succeeding Monday and Thursday.

Kidnapping.

We understand that within a few days past our city has been disgraced, by several instances of the most barefaced kidnapping—and that some two or three persons free born under the Constitution of Ohio, have been hurried off to the cotton and sugar fields of the South.

How long will it be, if this course of things be tolerated, before white children will be caught up and treated in the same manner?

If slavery endure, poor white children, as well as the colored, will soon become the victims of its hopeless horrors. There are in the South, already, slaves as white as any of us, who have in our veins the purest Saxon blood. Indeed the whiter slave—especially if it be a female—the more extravagant the price—and the more desirable the victim.

Persecution of Dr. Nelson.

From a friend who writes us from Illinois, we learn the following particulars communicated to him by Dr. Nelson himself. On the previous Sabbath, the Doctor had preached at one of his accustomed places—at the request of a gentleman present, [Mr. Muldrow, we presume,] he read a paper containing some plan of proposition in relation to Colonization. After the reading of the paper, Dr. Bosley seemed very much excited, and advanced with his stick raised towards Mr. Muldrow, who was supposed to be the author of the paper just read.—Some angry talk ensued—followed by a scuffle, in which Bosley was stabbed. Muldrow was put in confinement.

So great was the excitement against Dr. Nelson, that he was compelled, with his family, to fly to a

place of safety. Mrs. Nelson and her oldest son succeeded in conveying themselves and the smaller children to the Mississippi river, and across to Quincy. Dr. N. has a large family of children. So implacable was the spirit aroused against him—that it was extended even to his wife and children. All persons were forbidden from rendering them any assistance. Some, that were truly friendly, were afraid to give them a mouthful of victuals—and thus were they under the necessity of spending the greater part of the night in the woods, travelling till two o'clock in the morning, before they could obtain admittance into any house. Doctor N. was compelled to separate from his family, being hunted like a mad dog. He lay concealed during the day, and travelled in the night—and eventually succeeded, by the aid of some, who secretly befriended him, in reaching Quincy. All the time that he was out, the roads were traversed and the ferries on the river were watched by armed men, who threatened him with death and all manner of punishment.

Dr. Bosley and Mr. Muldrow, both removed from Kentucky to Missouri.

Our correspondent further states—that Doctor N. is homeless and in a great measure friendless—and that beside many others, those who showed his wife and children the least kindness, have been ordered to leave the country.

Can any comment on such an outrage as this be necessary, in a land claiming to be the freest on the globe—and enlightened, too, by the unrestrained influences of the Christian religion? The actual slaveholders in Marion county, Missouri, where these things took place, do not amount probably to more than three hundred persons. Yet by their unanimous action, by their thorough concert, do they continue to keep in awe, and to control, a population of, perhaps, twenty times their own number. After the slave-holding atrocities of the last ten months—the insults which have been officially heaped on the free States, by the South—the totally unmanageable and despotic temper, exhibited by slaveholders in Congress, during the session yet holding—the contempt with which our laboring classes have been treated—after all this, we say, if any man is to be found in the free States, who has not resolved to do what he can, to bring to its termination a vile system which threatens to ruin our country, and fill her whole borders with petty tyrants, he himself has lost the spirit of republicanism; nor does it appear uncharitable, to believe of him, that he, either desires the power to become an oppressor himself, or is actuated by that meanness, which would persuade him to receive the chains of a bondman himself, be contented in his debasement—and leave the legacy of a slave as an inheritance to his offspring.

To Agents at the North.

Those gentlemen in the New England States, who have been so obliging as to obtain subscribers for the Philanthropist, whilst it was the property of the editor, will be doing a favor to the Executive Committee of the Ohio A. S. Society, by continuing their agency, and paying over any moneys which may now, or hereafter, be in their hands, to R. G. Williams, of the A. S. Rooms, New York, who is hereby respectfully requested, in their name, to receive the same.

The Pittsburgh Conference Journal.

The following letter appears in the Pittsburgh Conference Journal, and is, we suppose, from the pen of Mr. Elliot, the editor:

Cincinnati, May 25, 1836.

BRO. WHITE—In the hurry of Conference business, it is impossible for me to give much detail, as to many of the topics discussed. Mr. Birney has professed to give in detail, in the Philanthropist, the speeches on the subject of abolition and slavery; and I affirm he has very much misrepresented our church on this subject, placing her proceedings in the list of "Pro-Slavery Ecclesiastics." It seems to me that the abolition press has become so perverted and bewildered with the partial views of the system which it espouses, that it is in vain for us to look any longer for sober reasoning, or a true statement of facts from this source. Whatever may be the proper remedy to relieve our country from the evils of slavery, the present abolition movements can never be the chosen instrument in the hand of the Almighty.

One false step generally persuades to another.—Mr. Elliot, that he might be found on the side of what he supposed to be public opinion, saw proper, during the late session of the General Conference, to join in the persecution and abuse of those who are acting for the release of the poor slave from his chains, who are trying to restore the anti-slavery principles of Wesley to the Church of which he is a member, and to establish them in the other Churches where they have never been formally recognized.

We were fully prepared for such an article as this from Mr. Elliot—indeed we somewhat wonder, that it is not much worse. Now, we never did profess "to give in detail, in the Philanthropist, the speeches on the subject of abolition and slavery." We professed to give sketches of them,—not pretending, except in particular passages,—to verbal accuracy.—Beside having professed only this, we promised to correct any error, into which we might have fallen, when it was made known to us—and to publish the speeches of any of the speakers, who would furnish us with copies of them. Now, it seems to us, that we did all that we could do, to show we were honest in this matter. We renew our promise, too, after all that has been done, to correct any error pointed out to us, in our sketch of the debates on abolition and slavery, and to publish anew every speech with which the speaker will furnish us.

A word more to Mr. Elliot—under what head could we put the proceedings of the Conference so properly as that of "PRO-SLAVERY ECCLESIASTICS"? You are ecclesiastics—and what you did was certainly not against slavery. It was, most undoubtedly, for slavery. You did just what the slaveholder told you. At his beck, you condemned without any authority, for such a proceeding in your book of Discipline, two of your own members for speaking in favor of emancipation. You never once enquired, what they had said—you charged them not with unchristian language, or associating with immoral or disorderly people, but you offered them up with the most accommodating alacrity, as sacrifices to ap-

pease your southern taskmasters. More than this—the slaveholders ordered you to surrender to their vengeance one of the most estimable men in your whole connexion. Orange Scott, by his courage, and piety, and talent, had become the terror of slaveholders in the Methodist Episcopal Church.—They demanded his ruin—his utter disgrace. And with wicked speed you hastened to the work assigned you. To please them, you have essayed to blacken his character, poison his peace, to hold him up crucified before the world as the publisher of palpable falsehood, when you yourselves—not one of you—believed the charge to be true.

When you can act as you have done, in the persecution of such men as Scott, and Storrs, and Norris, what right have we to expect from you, any other thing, than that distraction and defamation, by which you expect to make the truth itself inoperative and powerless in our hands.

More Post Office Delinquency.

Not long after the publication of the Philanthropist commenced, an aged and eminently respectable gentleman, a subscriber, residing in Augusta, Ken., wrote to the editor requesting, that his paper might, thereafter, be sent to a post-office on this side of the Ohio, as the Post master, at Augusta, refused to deliver it to him.

But a few weeks after this, this same Post-master took on himself, to throw out of the mail bags two packages of the Philanthropist—one directed to Ripley in Ohio, the other to Pittsburg, Pa. This was done in the presence of the Post rider, who remonstrated with him ineffectually, and of others.—To the request of the Post rider, that he should permit the packages to proceed, the Post master, whose name is Richards, replied with an oath, that he knew how to dispose of such papers, when they fell into his hands. This case, inasmuch as it had gone beyond any other instance of illegal outrage on the mail—so far as we had heard—as it detained papers destined to persons residing in the free States—was made public in this paper. A copy of the paper containing the account, was forwarded directly to the Post Master General. Another to a member of Congress, who was entrusted with the delivery of it to that officer. In addition to this, a remonstrance, signed by many of the citizens of Ripley, whose papers had been thus fraudulently arrested, and by others, as we have been informed was also sent on to the Post Master General. We have not, as yet, heard, that any investigation of the conduct of Mr. Richards has been ordered.—He still retains his place in the Post Office Department, after having knowingly violated his oath of office, and broken the condition of his bond as Post master.

A clergyman, residing in Berkeley County, Va., became a subscriber to the Philanthropist. He received a few numbers—the remainder were withheld, and he requested, because he could not obtain them from the post office, that they might not, in future be sent on to him.

We now give below *verbatim et literatim*, a letter just received from one of the Post Office Department—conservators of the public morals and caterers to the public taste—who following the advice of Mr. Kendall, have assumed a power above the law. We have no personal knowledge of Mr. Hogshead, the gentleman mentioned in the letter—we know not whether he belongs to the slave-holding aristocracy—or to the many who hold no slaves. This we know, however—that he is entitled to his rights as an American citizen, and that the officer who willfully withholds them from him, ought to be put out of the place he has shown himself so utterly unqualified to fill. Should he, and all others who repeat such glaring outrages on the rights of their fellow citizens, be retained in office by those who fail to use aright the power entrusted to them by the people, the people will be under the necessity of going up to the source of the evil, and there correcting it themselves. What would be done with a Post-master, in the State of Ohio, who would boldly avow, that he would not transmit by the mail, or deliver to subscribers, newspapers coming from the South containing the insulting speeches that have been made in Congress by Southern members, during the present session, against the people, especially the laboring classes of the free States—or those containing Gov. McDuffie's Message, in which he deliberately insults this community, by advising us to violate all the principles of liberty embodied in our Constitution, and establish among us the Southern system of slavery? Need we say that he would be put out of his office immediately? Yes—and he ought to be—so ought Post masters at the South, who act on the same principle.

If the South may do as she pleases—let there be a formal acknowledgement of her right—let her despotism be established by law, so that the north may shout hosannas to her without shame.

Post Office, Union Monroe, Va. }
May 27th, 1836. }

Dear Sir—You will pardon me for informing you, that the Philanthropist (styl'd) is of such character as forbids me from delivering it in future to the person to whom it is addressed, W. H. Hogshead of this County. In this State no paper so highly tainted with abolitionism will be permitted to circulate in this Country, and the person persisting in doing so, would unquestionably be Lynch'd.

Your obedient servant,
J. A. SHANKLIN, P. M.

It will be seen, from the following, that the Philanthropist is not the only paper over which our southern village Post-masters have extended their care. "The Friend" (newspaper) in the organ of the Society of Friends. Now, if the south cannot bear with them, in their mild and gentle discussion on slavery the case is a desperate one indeed. If the south is determined to take the execution of the laws into her own hands; if this is connived at, by those to whom the administration of the general government is confided, the sooner the north know it the better. The Union we value is one of equal rights—such an one as our fathers intended to make for us—not such a Union as slavery is fast establishing—one in which the free states are to be at the mercy of a few stupid and tyrannical slave drivers—in which her citizens may be whipped and

tarred, and feathered, and hanged, at pleasure, and its all well. From an union which enable the south to domineer over us, and treat us as she does her own slaves, the sooner the freemen of the north are delivered, the better.

FROM THE FRIEND.

Fifth Month, 21, 1836.

A day or two ago we received, through the post office, two copies of our paper of the 30th ult. returned, as we suppose, by the Post-master at Columbia, South Carolina, probably in compliance with instructions from higher authority.

On the envelope of one of them is written, "Editor of the friend of the Nigger Philadelphia, Penn." On the face of the paper is the following, "The Niggers Friend returned from Columbia, S. C."

On the envelope of the other, the direction is a little varied, thus—"Edr. of the Negroes Friend, Philadelphia." The face of the paper is thus inscribed, "The Nigger Friend, returned from Columbia, S. C." and in the margin appears,—"The fanatical Editor of the Nigger friend will please to cease sending his paper to Columbia."

Now all this appears to us supremely silly—mere childish petulance. On looking for the cause, it was at once manifest, from the title of the article in the first page, "Synod of Kentucky on slavery."

We take this notice of the affair more in pity than in anger, for we have need to be well content with the epithets applied to us and the paper, if merited, since they but place us in the same category with many honorable names—for example, Wilberforce, who was emphatically styled *The Negroes Friend*; but we thought it right to make a record of it as one of the signs of the times, and as indicating the irritable state of feeling among some at the South. We send but two papers to that Post office—one of them to an old subscriber, and the other as an exchange paper, of some five or six years' standing.

From the Journal and Luminary.

We insert for the information of all who believe that we live under a government of laws, the following letter.

PONTOTOC, (Miss.) May 19, 1836.

Messrs. Chester & Earnes:

Sirs:—At the particular desire of Mr. Camden and Mr. Stagg, I have to request that you will no longer send to this office your paper, the "Cincinnati Journal and Western Luminary," as the sentiments expressed in that paper on a certain subject, are not congenial to Southern feeling; and consequently this office cannot, and will not be the medium through which such sentiments may be circulated in this quarter. Your compliance with this request will save some trouble, as I shall in future deem it my duty to destroy any numbers of your paper that may come to this office.

WM. D. LUSHER,
Postmaster at Pontotoc.

Comment on this letter may seem unnecessary.—The time was, when such an outrage upon the laws of the land, and upon individual rights, would not only have driven any functionary from office, but have brought down upon him the indignation of every freeman. There was a time when an attempt on the part of the government to strip the press of its freedom, would have awaked a spirit before which no administration, however popular, could stand. Lingers any of that spirit in Americans? If not, this letter may be read with unconcern—our fetters are forged and it is just that we should wear them.

Let us analyze this letter—rather this royal edict from a village Postmaster. "I have to request that you will no longer send to this office your paper, the Cincinnati Journal and Western Luminary, as the sentiments expressed in that paper on a certain subject are not congenial to southern feeling; and consequently this office cannot, and will not be the medium through which such sentiments may be circulated in this quarter." To give then to Editors a right to the use of the post offices, the sentiments must be congenial, not with the feelings of those to whom the papers are sent, but with the feeling of their neighbors; the sentiments must correspond not with the principle of the Constitution and Laws under which we live, but with the feelings of every neighborhood, to be interpreted by every deputy postmaster. An abolitionist Postmaster, we suppose must have the same power, and if, according to this idea of the feelings of his section of the country, our paper is not congenial with them; he also may send his petty edict, forbidding under the severity of his displeasure, to be exercised in no questionable shape, the appearance of our paper in his dominions. A Methodist, a Baptist, an Episcopalian, a Catholic, a Congregational Post master, may choose to find the sentiments of our columns not exactly congenial with the feelings of his neighborhood, and each may send his mandate to the publishers. In the strife of political parties, and to cut short all discussion upon the acts of those in power, this may be found a very convenient principle. A postmaster has only to find a want of congeniality in the sentiments of a paper with the feelings of the people as he imagines those feelings to be, or deems that they ought to be, to prohibit its circulation.

Well, what is the penalty of disobedience? "Your compliance with this request will save some trouble, as I (doubly underscored in the original) shall in future deem it my duty to destroy any numbers of your paper that may come to this office." We would ask Mr. Lusher whence he derived his principles of duty as a Postmaster. Does the law create or regulate or define those duties? Has he taken an oath of office and sworn to perform the duties of a postmaster, according to law? Does he find the power which he threatens to exercise in the law prescribing his duties? Or does he regard an oath as a mere matter of form to be adhered to, or not according to his convenience or feelings? Either the law gives him the power which he claims, or an oath is with him but idle breath. He knows—all know, that he possesses no such legal power; his future conduct will show what binding force an oath has upon his conscience. We shall probably allude to this subject again.

PUBLISHERS.

Barbarous Conduct.

From the Baptist Cross and Journal.

A communication from Elder David Nickens, pastor of the colored Baptist church of Cincinnati, furnishes the following statements which we give in an abridged form.

Cincinnati, May 16, 1836.

I have just returned from a protracted meeting of three days, in Brown county, Ohio, on White Oak, amongst the emancipated colored people, formerly belonging to Mr. Gess, deceased. The meeting commenced on Friday, and closed on Monday. Myself and brethren Watkins, Satchel, and Jones, were the principal laborers. We had a precious and solemn meeting. After the two first sermons on Sabbath, we repaired to the water, and three willing converts were immersed, on profession of their faith by brother Watkins. In the afternoon a church of fifty members was constituted. The

Enon articles of faith, discipline, and covenant were adopted. The committee appointed by the Union church in Cincinnati, to assist in the constitution, were as follows: David Nickens, Matthew Watkins, Charles Satchel, and Henry Williams.

P. S. I regret to state, that on Wednesday, after meeting, some vicious persons set fire to the Meeting-house, and consumed it. This was the place where the church was constituted, and where they met to worship God. Here also their school was taught. It was the property of the poor colored people, who, not long since, were set free by their humane master, Mr. Gess. Let us pray for the midnight torchers, that God may convert their souls.

We were agreeably disappointed in the temporal condition of the above noticed brethren. We found them in a much better condition than we expected.

DAVID NICKENS.

Political.

Hieretofore, we have given the views of Mr. Van Euren on the subject of Slavery—passing on them that condemnation which we thought they deserved. He however, admits the power to be in Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. His reasoning, to place EXPEDIENT, according to southern views, and as we judge to catch Southern votes, on a level with constitutional provisions, is too flimsy to impose on any one.

Judge White denies altogether, the right to be in Congress, to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia. We set him down as a thorough going for all those principles and interpretations by which the South will be exalted, the North degraded, and oppression continued.

Mr. Webster recognises in Congress the power to abolish Slavery in the District. From the allusions he has frequently made to the subject of slavery, and the freedom of the Press and of Speech, it is probable his views are more liberal than those of any of the Presidential candidates.

We now give from the Pittsburg Times—with the comments of that print—extracts, going to show, what have been Gen. Harrison's opinions on some of the aspects of slavery. We do this, that our Anti-Slavery friends may have such information on this subject as they ought to have, to enable them to vote understandingly. Whilst we avoid every thing, that looks like a participation in the miserable party warfare, that is going on in our country for men, and offices—we cannot, by any means, be indifferent to the character of those who are to fill our highest public stations. When we say, character, we mean moral character—for we do not believe, that there is one of the present candidates, who is not sufficiently well qualified on the score of mental capacity for conducting the government beneficially to the citizens and honorably among the nations. It is high moral character that we most want—united to an intelligent and principled love of liberty. Not that love of liberty which rises and falls with the mercury in the political thermometer—and which slaveholding bluster can at any time congeal at the heart. No: Abolitionists ought to desire to see in office men, who go for right first—for expediency next—no matter in what party they are to be found.

HARRISON AND SLAVERY.

It is impossible to misunderstand, that the slavery question is the pivot of all the political movements of the southern whigs; and it would be fatal for us to neglect the precautions necessary to self-defence against their outrageous doctrines. That the White party is the pro-slavery party, is what no one will dispute. That Harrison is used for a decoy duck for White is equally manifest. We shall now show his views of slavery.

On the 4th day of July, 1833, Gen. Harrison delivered a quantity of loose talk (which was called an "oration" at Cheviot in Ohio.) It was published in the Richmond Whig (Aug 23d) and republished in the Harrisburg (Pa.) Intelligencer last fall, when the mad dog cry was raised against the abolitionists. He declares that the citizens of the non-slaveholding states "have not the right of discussing" the subject of slavery. After laying down some vague notions of constitutional right he proceeds thus—

"If I am correct in the principles here advanced, I support my assertion, that the discussion on the subject of emancipation, in the non-slaveholding States, is equally injurious to their masters, and that it has no sanction in the principles of the Constitution. I must not be understood to say that there is any thing in that instrument which prohibits discussion. I know there is not. But the man who believes that the claims which his fellow citizens have upon him, are satisfied with adhering to the letter of the political contract that connects them, must have a very imperfect knowledge of the principles upon which our glorious Union was formed, and by which alone it can be maintained."

We stated in the times of the 18th of last November, the facts which proved Harrison to be an advocate of slavery. When he was Governor of the North Western Territory, (now Ohio and Indiana,) he had a convention called to make an application to Congress for the repeal of so much of the Ordinance of 1787 as forbade slavery in the Territory. The Convention sent a memorial for that purpose by a special agent, Judge Parke, but the object was defeated chiefly through the exertions of Smith and Findley of this state.

In 1803, in the exercise of his very indefinite powers, he made a law (in conjunction with the two territorial judges) compelling all persons who came into the territory under contracts of service to perform the same. The slaves were made to sign contracts of what was termed "voluntary servitude!" and thus in direct contravention of the Ordinance the attempt was made to legalize slavery.—See territorial laws of 1803, page 26.

Again in 1805 and in 1807 we find his signature to laws aiming to reach the same iniquitous object.—See territorial laws of 1805 page 25, and those of 1807 pages 423 and 428. The Supreme Court, afterwards set those laws aside, on the ground that they authorized slavery, in violation of the Ordinance of the territory.

Gen. Harrison is a native of Virginia, and in a recent conversation with a distinguished anti-slavery man, took occasion to declare, that on the subject of slavery, he still felt as a Virginian—intending of course to signify that he was in favor of the system.

It is not indeed necessary for the whig plan that Harrison should have any principles at all, as he is intended merely to play into the hand of White; yet the matter is so arranged, that if the party should be obliged to concentrate in the hands upon Harrison, he will answer, in the House of Clay and Calhoun, to sustain the southern policy as well as White, though not as creditably.—Pittsburg Times.

A. KELLOGG,

Furniture Auction House,
Fifth street, between Main and Walnut.

POETRY

[BY MONTGOMERY.]

There are, gloomy Ocean! a brotherless clan,
Who traverse thy banishing waves,
The poor disinherited outcasts of Man,
Whom avarice coils into Slaves!
From the homes of their kindred, their forefathers' graves,
Love, Friendship, and Conjugal Bliss,
They are dragged on the hoary abyss.
The shark hears their shrieks, and ascending to day,
Demands of the spoiler his share of the prey!
Then joy to the tempest that whelms them beneath,
And makes their destruction its sport:
But woe to the winds that propitiously breathe,
And wait them in safety to port:
Where the vultures and vipers of Mammon resort;
Where Europe exultingly drains
The life blood from Africa's veins;
Where the image of God is accounted as base,
And the image of Cesar set up in its place.

Anti-Slavery Anniversaries.

(Continued.)

Gerrit Smith, offered the following resolution:
Resolved, That notwithstanding the often repeated declaration, that the 'Northern States' have nothing to do with the subject of slavery; it is nevertheless true, that considerations of religion, humanity, and national policy, require them both to be interested in that subject, and to act upon it.

I have not risen, Mr. President, to surprise you with original thoughts and speculations; but to attempt to dispose of a standing objection to our cause, by a train of arguments with which you are perfectly familiar; but which some persons present, and some persons who will read the report of the proceedings of this meeting, may not have duly considered.

I need not consume my time to show, that a system, which denies to millions of men the bible and the marriage institution, and the right of holding property, and turns them into cattle—into mere merchandise and chattels—and, in effect, provides legal impunity for all offences, which their oppressors may commit against them, not even murder excepted;—I say, I need not consume any time to show, that such a system is wicked, awfully wicked. If it be not wicked—if a system, which directly and indirectly, violates nearly or quite all the commandments in the Decalogue, be not wicked, then we know not what is.

I am happy to admit, that the administration of the system is not so bad as the system itself. It is honorable to human nature, that when a peculiarly atrocious and wicked system is devised for a community, that community is not willing to carry it entirely out.

Great and glaring, however, as is the wickedness of southern Slavery, we are, nevertheless, continually met with the remonstrance, that the North has nothing to do with it. How frequently is it asserted, not only at the South, but at the North, that the North has nothing to do with the subject of Southern slavery. But why has the North nothing to do with it? Because, say the objectors, 'you have miserable objects enough about you—all over the free States—on which to exercise your compassions; and, because it is useless and quixotic to let your sympathies travel off hundreds and thousands of miles in quest of objects of wretchedness.'

But, are all consistent with themselves, who hold this language? Did none of them allow themselves to feel, when the poor Greek sent out his loud cry over the civilized world for help to break off the Turkish yoke? Did none of them contribute to swell the large stream of honorable liberality, which America then poured out on suffering Greece? a stream which supplied the naked with clothing, and the hungry with food. Did none of them remember the oppressed Pole, and join with their countrymen in ministering to his relief? Did none of them sympathize with the inhabitants of the Cape De Verdes Islands, when, a few years ago, they were reduced to famine, and American charity sent them ship loads of food? And yet the Greeks, and the Poles, and the Cape De Verdes Islands, are thousands of miles off.

But, again, do none of those, who object to our suffering our compassions to stray so far as into the Southern States, aid in the Foreign Missionary enterprise? Are none of them enlisted in the blessed work of lifting up the wretched Hindoo and Burman, and Sandwich Islander out of their deep degradation; and of turning them from their idols to serve the living God. But, how much more remote are these objects of their charity than are the Southern slaves!

The great distance of the slaves from us cannot then be the real objection to our interesting our hearts in their condition: for such an objection is never raised to our sympathizing with those who are far remote from us. Besides, if the objection were put forth in earnest, there would be no force in it with the christian mind. If the Saviour bid us go into all the world with the blessings and benefits of the gospel, then it is manifestly our duty to let our sympathies take as wide a range. And when He bids us love our neighbor as ourselves, He also gives us the large and gospel definition of the word 'neighbor'; and makes it include every fellow being to whom we can do good. And what man, I ask, is so remote from us, and so disconnected with us, that we cannot do him good—if not in person, yet in the benevolent purposes of our hearts—or, at least, in our prayers? I am aware, that, when we look out upon the mutual alienation and estrangement of the members of the human family, it is not always easy to conceive, that God intended them all to be 'neighbors' to each other, in this highest, best sense of the word. But we must remember, that this alienation and estrangement are the fruit of sin; and, that it is sin which, in respect to this countless multitude, has, in the words of the poet, made 'enemies of those; who else like kindred drops, had mingled into one.'

But there is another objection to our sympathy with the Southern slaves. We are united by a political compact with the States in which these slaves mostly dwell; and this compact, it is said, forbids our meddling with the subject of slavery. Now, we deny that it does so. We have just the same right to exert a moral power against slavery, which we had before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and the formation of the Federal Government. The fact, that the Constitution does not clothe us with political power to abolish slavery is no more a reason why we may not exert a moral power to this end, than is the silence of that instrument respecting intemperance, a reason why we may not labor, by moral suasion, to suppress that vice.

The liberty for one State to employ political power against the institution of slavery in another did not exist before, nor has it existed since, the formation of the Federal Government. To attempt so to employ it now would be the most unwarrantable interference. Such interference the abolitionists have not attempted; do not now attempt; and utterly disclaim their right to: and all, therefore, that is said to the contrary, come it from high places or low—from Governors and legislatures—or from the ignorant and vile—is utterly false and slanderous.

There are some persons, who, in their great anxiety to make the right of Southern slaveholding unquestionable, trace this right to the Federal Constitution. Mr. Calhoun and other Southern statesmen, who have his views of the doctrine of State sovereignty, are too discerning to feel indebted to these persons. These statesmen will not admit that the authority of the Federal Government was necessary either to create or secure this right. For, in admitting this much, they would implyly admit, that the Federal Government has still some power over this right: some power to revoke perhaps,

as well as to confirm it. These statesmen will continue, and justly too, to look back of the Federal Government for their right to hold slaves. This right the old slave states had perfectly, in a political point of view, before that Government was created; and they have it still: and the new slave States claim, as confidently as the old, the derivation of this right from State sovereignty.

But to return to my denial, that the Constitution of our common country restrains the exertion of moral influence on this subject. It does not restrain it. It attempts no such hindrance of the exercise of our natural rights, and of the performance of their correlative duties. And, if it did; if it did attempt to limit our sympathies for our fellow men by State lines; and to prescribe for whose welfare we might employ the spirit of prayer, and the lips, and pen of persuasion, and for whose not: if it were guilty of this wicked violation of God's plan, and of this daring usurpation of God's power—who that has the heart of a man and of a christian, would respect such an instrument? But thanks to God and to the wise and good men who framed this constitution, it offers no obstacles to the work of the abolitionists, but secures to them just what they need, and with the blessing of Heaven, all that they need, to make that work successful—that is, freedom speech and of the press.

But when we have shown the fallacy of these objections, our opponents are, perhaps, honest enough to tell us another objection they have to our interesting ourselves and others in the subject of southern slavery. It is this—the slaves are black, and, moreover, they are slaves; and they are, therefore, unworthy of our concern. This is it: because the southern slave is degraded by the wrongs heaped upon him, in making and continuing him a slave; and because degrading associations have long clustered around his sable complexion, on account of the enslavement of Africans for centuries; and so far as christian nations have had a part in it, of Africans only; because of this, it is, that we may not care for him. But admit, if you please, the vileness of the slave—even all that is imputed to him: and, if you please, lay the blame of all this vileness to himself, instead of his oppressor; and what then? shall we cast him away, and exclude him from the pale of our sympathies? No—oh no! for he is still a man—a brother man—made in God's image—and the blood of Calvary shed for his redemption. 'God made of one blood all the nations that dwell on the face of the earth.' We cannot bear true love to God, so long as we despise His image in man—so long as we turn our backs on the meanest, humblest man. Indeed, it is such a man, who, in an important sense, by our Saviour's own declaration, his representative on the earth; and inasmuch as we show mercy or cruelty to this least one, so do we show mercy or cruelty to Christ himself.

One object of the divine mind, in appointing the great diversities in human condition, was, no doubt, to furnish another test of this love to God, and another occasion for its exercise and development. It is easy for us to love those whose persons and characters and circumstances are all suited to win our love. But this is not enough. God requires that our hearts go out to our fellow man even when he presents himself to us in a character and in circumstances the most loathsome and repulsive. When, for instance, we witness the disgusting spectacle of the reeling, blaspheming drunkard, we are to remember the dignity of his immortal nature; our compassion is to overcome our disgust: we are to love him and do him good; not to shrink from taking him by the hand, and ministering to him advice and consolation; nor for taxing our self-denial for his sake—even though it should be to the giving up of our glass of wine, and thus far, of our fashionableness. So when we look upon the poor slave—degraded, down-trodden, and brutified as he is, we are still to see in him our fellow man—one who is entitled to our sympathies, our prayers, and our beneficence. This is our doctrine, and it is in harmony with God's plan; that wherever there is a man, be he white or honorable, bond or free, black or white, there is a being with claims on our fraternal regard, which we must not disown, but to which we must be prompt to respond. Besides, such are the fluctuations of life and of such precarious tenure are its riches and honors, and blessings, that even those of us who are now the greatest favorites of providence, and whose allotments are now the happiest, are personally interested to have this doctrine of the inalienable and indestructible dignity of man maintained.

There is another objection taken to our caring for the Southern slaves. It is said, that the South will withdraw her trade from the North, and cease to contribute to our enrichment, unless we check our sympathy for her slaves. We reply, that although not insensible to the gain of dollars and cents, godliness is far greater gain; and that the doing of God's will, is more gainful than is any disobedience of it, to which avarice may tempt us.

Another objection is—if the North persists in manifesting an interest in the Southern slaves the South will not give her votes to Northern candidates for political offices. Our reply is, that much as it might please us to see our next President and Vice President taken from the North, and to have the South vote for our Van Buren, or Webster, or Harrison, or Granger—still, if we can be gratified—if we can get Southern votes at no less expense than by hardening our hearts against the poor slave, and by ceasing to obey God, and to speak for the dumb, and to plead the cause of the needy—then let Southern men only fill our highest offices. No commercial—no political gain would justify us in the sight of God, or in our own sight, for the gross inhumanity of deliberately turning our backs on more than two millions of our fellow men; and leaving them, for aught of our concern in their behalf, to suffer whatever of wrong and outrage might be devised against them.

Another objection to our efforts for abolishing slavery is, that they make the condition of the slave worse than it was before. As Pharaoh, the more he was admonished to let them go, hardened his heart the more against his slaves, so it is not improbable that such of the Southern Slaveholders, as have the Pharaoh spirit, (I am far from charging this spirit upon them all) are increasing in their severity toward their slaves. If they are, it is their own sin, and God will judge them for it, unless they repent.

There is another objection to our conceiving an interest in the Southern slaves. It is in the form of an inquiry. What will that interest effect? What good will it do? I answer, that good is done, if we do but remember them, and give them a place in our minds. Said Paul, whilst in chains at Rome, to them, who were as far from him as the slaves are from us; 'Remember my bonds.' And, if that great apostle, with all his resource of alleviation and comfort in his cultivated mind and heaven-stored heart, still felt the need under the grievousness of his chains, that his brethren should remember his trials and sympathize with him—how much more does the poor enslaved negro stand in need of our remembrance and sympathy? Said the same apostle: 'Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.' This remembrance to be most profitable, must, doubtless, be a pious and peaceful remembrance;—and when this is its character, it does not fail of being profitable. When the hundreds of thousands of christians at the North have measured and dwelt upon the woes of the Southern slaves, until they are 'as bound with them'; and when, day and night, they shall be telling of those woes in the ear of their God;—if, when this has come to pass, it be still found that the North can do nothing toward abolishing slavery, then will we admit that we have overrated the power of prayer, and that the Lord's ear has become heavy, that he cannot hear.

Another benefit which will result from our taking an interest in Southern slavery, and acquiring an understanding of its character, is that we will thence be both disposed and qualified to set the truth in relation to it before our Southern brethren.

But, it is said, that the South is so determined to cling to slavery, that she will not be moved by any,

even the most vivid, and powerful, and melting exhibitions of the truth respecting it. I think better of the South than to believe this. I think better of human nature than to believe it. Man is made to be moved by the truth. His conscience, his hand, his heart, his whole moral constitution, are made to respond to the truth; and the principal reason why the conquests of truth are so slow in this world, is, that the friends of truth are not more faithful to hold it up patiently, perseveringly, fully. Now, on the subject of slavery, the South has not only lulled, and debased, and hardened herself with falsehood, but the north has sanctioned and given efficacy to that falsehood. Until recently, our Northern press and literature, if they have not positively favored slavery, have, at least, winked at its abominations. But, within the last two or three years, many Northern pens have been employed to spread out the truth on this subject, before Southern eyes, and upon Southern consciences; and the effect already, is as if the sleep of death were breaking up. Let this pouring in of the light be continued. As sure as man was made by God, and was, therefore, made to answer to the truth, this light will have its blessed effect. Hitherto, when our Southern brethren have come to the North, they have met with about as little sense of the wickedness of slavery as they left behind them. Henceforth let it be different. Let them witness our strong abhorrence of it, and let there be nothing from our lips or in our practices to soothe their consciences. Especially let them see us treating the colored man, as a man. Let them see us treating him, not according to the hue of his skin, but according to his intellectual and moral worth. Let us, in a word, hold up the truth to them, and not connive at their delusions. In all ways in which the North can bear her testimony against slavery, she can do good; and these ways are numberless.

Another reason for our interesting ourselves in the subject of southern slavery is, that, until this slavery ceases—this enslaving of a man simply because he has African blood in his veins—the free colored population of this country will not be able to exchange their present debasing mockery of freedom for freedom itself. The free colored man in our country is, because of the color which his God gave him, an outcast from the public respect and sympathy; and by the laws of some of our states, he is liable, simply because of his color, to be arrested and sold into perpetual slavery. A citizen of Connecticut, visiting South Carolina, is in danger, on the bare suspicion of his having African blood in his veins, of losing his liberty forever. Nor are the laws which authorize this outrage on human rights, a dead letter. There is found to be cruelty enough to enforce as well as to enact them. Whilst millions of men in this nation continue to be enslaved because of their color, it is not to be wondered at if others who are so unhappy as to have that color, are, and remain, depressed in their character and condition. If, for instance, all persons in the Southern states born with red hair, were, because of the color of that hair, to be enslaved, (and this would be no more absurd than is the enslaving of men for the color of their skin,) what a calamity it would justly be deemed to be born even in the northern states with such red hair! If the sentiment of the South were, that men of red hair were fit only to be slaves, how natural that a similar sentiment should exist at the North also! and how crushing would be the prevalence of this abominable sentiment upon persons of such hair amongst ourselves.

Another reason why we should interest ourselves to procure the abolition of slavery, is, (to say nothing of our liabilities in the case of a servile insurrection,) that, so long as it exists, and the provision in the federal Constitution, respecting the restoration of fugitives held to labor, remains—and I see not how it can be dispensed with—so long will the people of the free states be under a solemn, and I do not say paramount,—but nevertheless a solemn obligation to perform acts in the face of their consciences, and humanity, and religion.

Another reason why we must interest our minds in the Southern slavery, and 'cry aloud' concerning this giant wickedness, is, that future emigrants from the North to the South may entertain such a just sense of the system, that they will not be guilty, like their predecessors, of contributing to uphold it.

I perceive, sir, that the portion of your time I was expected to occupy is nearly spent, and I will detain you with but one more reason why we must oppose Southern Slavery. We must oppose it in self-defence; for if it be not overthrown, and speedily too, it will supplant the liberty of the North. The antagonistic principles of liberty and slavery cannot be peaceable neighbors. The one will be making aggressions on the other; and unless the pure, and peaceable, and merciful principles of the Abolitionists soon overpread the South, the odious doctrines inculcated by Governor M'Duffie, Senator Leigh, Mr. Pickens and other Southern Statesmen, will have obtained at the North, and effectually prepared the way for reducing Northern laborers to a herd of slaves.

For some centuries christian nations have been enslaving men because of the dark complexion which God gave them. Let not the whites flatter themselves that this will long continue to be the ground of enslavement. The world is fast coming to see, and to revolt at its absurdity. Even Southern statesmen are ceasing to justify the enslaving of men for their color; and, instead thereof, they are now contending for the enslavement of the laboring classes, irrespective of complexion. They have the effrontery to recommend to the aristocrats in the North to put the yoke of slavery on the necks of our farmers and mechanics. Nor have I any better opinion of those purse-proud and haughty men amongst us, who are displaying their pro-slavery spirit, than to believe that they would welcome the conversion of our independent Northern laborers into abject slaves. The time is already at hand, sir, when, unless the yeomanry of the North harness themselves for the great battle we are called to fight against slavery, they will witness mighty efforts to bring themselves under the same yoke with the laborers of the South. It is a manifest doctrine of slavery, that labor becomes the slave only. Closely connected with this, is the doctrine that the laborer is fit only to be a slave.

To conclude, sir, after this long trespass on your patience:—let me say, that we have fallen upon strange times.

Two hundred years ago, our fathers began to build on these shores an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted friends of liberty. The beautiful and blessed work of their prayers, and courage, and sacrifices, has come down to their sons of this age, challenging their admiration, and love, and protection. But they are degenerate sons; and, instead of prizeing, and preserving, and laboring to perpetuate this glorious work, their parical and Vandal hands are busy in marring and destroying it. It may emphatically be said of liberty, in the Saviour's words, that her 'enemies are they of her own household.' She is stricken down and bleeding in her own temple—in the house of her friends. To speak literally, and as truly as literally, there is no part of the world where liberty has so injurious and dangerous enemies as to be found in our own country; and what makes her enemies here the more to be dreaded, is, that they are in the guise of her most devoted friends. It is easier and safer, sir, to proclaim her principles in any other part of the world—even amidst the most rigorous despotisms of the Eastern continent—than in a large portion of our own country. In one half of this nation, we cannot, but at the imminent peril of our lives, attempt to publish that great fundamental truth, 'that all men are created free and equal.' And even in the other half, there is a settled public opinion, frequently backed by violence, against the promulgation of it.

What a sad change in the last fifty years! Had there been; fifty years ago, a condition of residence

imposed upon the emigrant to our country, and on the traveller also a condition for the privilege of travelling from one part of it to another—it would, probably, have been felt that the new resident or the traveller be ever faithful to maintain the great principles of liberty.—But were a condition to be imposed now in similar cases, it would probably be that the new resident and that the traveller observe perfect silence—the silence of the grave—respecting those principles: or, even worse, that they ridicule and revile them, and improve every opportunity to bring them into contempt.

The spirit of true liberty, sir, and, by this, I mean, a just regard for the sacred rights of man, of whatever clime or complexion—had well nigh fled from us. Let us be thankful that, whilst the multitude, including, I must confess, my humble self, were yet asleep to our danger, you and a few others whose names will never perish from the remembrance of the friends of liberty and humanity, awoke to it. It may not be too late for the toils of the philanthropist and the prayers of the Christian, to recall that spirit in all the power with which it animated our virtuous ancestors. Let us not cease from these toils and prayers, until liberty shall have regained her place in the hearts of our countrymen, or until our efforts are stayed and our voices stilled, and our hopes quenched, in the final and fatal triumphs of slavery.

ALVAN STUART, Esq., of Utica, asked leave to detain the audience a few moments, merely to recite an account of a slave, which he had lately received. The audience, who were about to separate, having resumed their places, Mr. S. proceeded to relate, that three years ago, in the State of Georgia, a certain black slave of gigantic stature and proportional strength, 35 years old, and having a wife and four children, determined to effect his escape, and to rescue himself and his whole family from bondage. A Quaker who resided near him, being privy to his design, resolved to aid him in its accomplishment; and accordingly carried the slave and his family fifty miles in a wagon by night. In the day time he lay concealed; and on the second night the same man carried them fifty miles further. It was the design of the negro to make his way to Canada; the name of which country he had heard, and of which he had an undefined notion, but without any accurate knowledge of where it was situated; and he dared make no inquiries save of the Quaker, his neighbor, who seemed to have acted the part of his guardian angel. At the end of the second night he told the black man he could do no more for him, having already endangered both his life and property. He told the slave that he must not travel on the highway, nor attempt to cross a ferry, but, taking him by the hand, he committed him to God and the North star. This star he was to take as his guide, and it would lead him at length to the land of British freedom. The poor slave bade adieu to his benefactor, and after skulking in the day and travelling by night, he at length came to an unexpected obstacle. It was a broad river (the Savannah) the existence of which he had not the least knowledge. But as nothing remained but to cross it, he tied his two young children on his back, and between swimming where it was deep, and wading where it was shallow, his two elder sons swimming by his side, he at length made out to reach the opposite bank; then returning, he brought over his wife in the same manner. In this way he passed undiscovered thro' South and North Carolina and Virginia, and at length made his way into Pennsylvania: not knowing, however, that he had reached the land of Quakers and of freedom. And thus he pursued his way with the same fear and the same secrecy, until after six weeks of incessant toil and danger, he arrived with bleeding feet at the town of Buffalo; and being afraid to confide in any white man, he put his wife and children in the custody of some poor Indians in that neighborhood. For he rightly judged that the poor were most likely to be the friends of the poor. As he entered the town, and passed the shop of a colored barber, who was also like himself, a man of great physical strength, the man saw him through the window, and instantly stepping into the street, put his hand upon his shoulder and said: 'You are a fugitive slave.' But, seeing his alarm, he added: 'Fear nothing; I shall not betray you.' The slave then told the barber his whole story, and when he had done, the barber said: 'I will engage to put you safe over the Canada line. But it is right I should tell you, your master was this morning in my shop inquiring after you.' He concealed the slave in a stable, comforted him with food and with a part of a bottle of wine; and obtained a wagon and two horses to carry him to the ferry over the Niagara river. He could not cross in the night, because the boats did not run; and the only resource that remained, was to set out at the dawn of day. They did so; and the slave, his wife, and children, the barber and the driver, arrived safely at Black Rock, and called upon the ferryman to take them over. The ferryman had unfastened the boat, and it had just swung off into the stream, when who should make his appearance but the slave's master, with his horse in a foam, and a cocked pistol in his hand. He ordered the ferryman to turn the scow back again, on which the barber declared if he did so, he would be the death of him. The master, with violent vociferations, protested that if he did not, he would blow out his brains. The poor ferryman lifted up his hands and cried: 'The Lord have mercy on me! It seems that I am to be killed any how. But if I do die, I will die doing right.' At that moment, the hands were at work upon the steam boat Henry Clay, and perceiving how matters stood, gave three loud cheers for liberty, which were immediately responded to by a collection of people on the Canada side. The ferryman pushed off, and in a few minutes the rejoicing slave, with his wife and children, were borne on the dark bosom of the Niagara river safe to the land of British liberty and law.

The following resolutions were then submitted by the committee of arrangements and unanimously adopted.
Resolved, That the success of Anti-Slavery principles calls for unfeigned gratitude to Almighty God, and should strengthen the faith, and increase the efforts of the friends of human rights, for the peaceable and speedy overthrow of slavery throughout the world.
Resolved, That impressed with the vastness of the moral, political, social and personal evils of slavery, and encouraged by the success that has attended its labors, this society is desirous of giving increased energy to its exertions during the ensuing year, and therefore, we, who are here present, do pledge ourselves to pay into the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the present year, our proportion of the sum of fifty thousand dollars.

THE PLEDGE.

This was nobly met at the subsequent business meetings of the delegates, at which those present pledged, in behalf of themselves and the societies they represented the sum of TWENTY-ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS.

Facts from the West Indies.

In the Bahama Royal Gazette of Feb. 10th, there is an address from the President Vice President, and Members of Grants' Town Friendly Society, to his Majesty the king of England, and Lord Glenelg's despatch in answer to the Lieutenant Governor.

The editor of the Watchman says—
'We give this address and answer a conspicuous place in our columns, in order that the Africans and their descendants in this island may see what the captured Africans in the Bahamas are doing and imitate their example. There is perhaps no trait in the human character, more truly admirable than that, which leads us to provide support for the sick, the aged, the orphan and the widow. The fact of the recently settled Africans having formed themselves into a society for this purpose, leads us to form a very favorable opinion of them.'

The following is the address alluded to. It sheds a stream of lustre upon the African character. Read it,

and blush, ye despisers and traducers of the colored race. 'We your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, Natives of Africa, approach your Majesty, to acknowledge the blessings which it has pleased God to bestow on us under the generous protection of your Majesty and the British nation.'

Torn from our native country and connections by cruel men, and surviving the trials which destroyed, before our eyes, so many of their victims, until rescued from Slavery by your Majesty's brave seamen, we have found a home in your dominions.

For this deliverance we return our grateful thanks to the Almighty; and in return for the benevolent protection afforded to us in our helplessness, we shall ever regard ourselves as the friends of all Englishmen and the grateful and attached subjects of your Majesty.

In adopting the language and the habits of the English people, we have learned with these the truths of the Christian religion, which have moved them to be the protectors of the African race; and as Christians, we have formed ourselves into a society for the relief of our widows and orphans, and those who are unable to support themselves in sickness and old age.

We feel the benefits we enjoy under those just laws which protect us in our persons and secure to us the fruits of our industry.

We are aware that we and our children have much to learn before we can properly perform all the duties required from us, and we rely on the continuance of your Majesty's gracious protection and assistance, to enable us to improve, as we wish to do, and to bring up our children in those principles which have raised the English nation to be the protectors of the oppressed, and a 'light to those who are in darkness.'

LORD GLENELG'S REPLY.

I have received your despatch of the 8th October last, No. 96, in which you transmitted to me a petition signed by one hundred and fifty of his Majesty's Friendly Society for the relief of widows, orphans and aged persons.

I have had the honor to lay this petition at the foot of the Throne. His Majesty was pleased to receive it most graciously.

I have been commanded to convey to you the assurance of the deep interest which His Majesty feels in any measure tending to promote the welfare and improvement of His loyal subjects in the colony over which you preside.

In addition to the foregoing affecting and praiseworthy example, set by a despised class under the most extraordinary circumstances, the Watchman furnishes us with another proof of the safety, happiness and gratitude, which attend every instance of immediate emancipation. Not one of the whole number wished to remain as an 'apprentice,' much less as a slave. Will our *gradualists* mourn at this event? Read the account of it, and give thanks to God with the ransomed laborers, all ye who love justice and liberty in deed and in truth!

IMMEDIATE FREEDOM.

We understand that one hundred and five apprenticed laborers on Cambridge Estate, in the parish of St. James, the property of P. A. Scarlett, Esq., were on Monday last, the 7th inst., declared absolutely free under the Registry Act, the same not having been registered in 1832.

The scene, our correspondent informs us, was a most interesting one. The negroes were called up on the occasion, and addressed, at some length, by Mr. Special Justice, Facey, who pointed out to them the change in their condition, and impressed upon them the necessity of setting forth a good example, and showing, by their diligent conduct and good behavior, how worthy they were of the boon of freedom. The sight was truly affecting. The old men and women, with tears of joy and gratitude coursing down their care worn cheeks thanked God, their King, their Governor, and Magistrate, for the joyful intelligence. They cheered, and drew the Magistrate, in the exuberance of their joy, from one side of the road to the other. It will be extremely gratifying to our readers to know that these people, with two exceptions, remain on the property, and have agreed to labor for their late master, for four days each week in return for their houses, grounds, clothes, medicines, &c. The two dissentients claimed the same allowances and privileges as are given to the European immigrants, viz. houses to live in, land to cultivate, beef, potatoes, rice, and money every week. This, of course was refused, and they left the property. This is one of the numerous benefits to result from the importation of emigrants.—The negroes begin to consider, and very properly, that their labor is as valuable as that of immigrants, and they will demand the same remuneration for it. We should like to know, what reply can be made to their demand. If the negro in the same field, performs the same quantity of work as the white man, what satisfactory reason can be given why he should not receive the same recompense? Will it be said that the one ought to receive more than the other because his color is different? We think not. The demand and departure of the two persons alluded to from Cambridge, ought to teach the proprietary a wholesome lesson! It will be necessary to ascertain two important facts:—1st—Whether estates can afford to pay their laborers in the manner that the immigrants are being paid, and next, whether they can carry on their cultivation without negro laborers.—If they cannot do one of these, the impolicy of introducing immigrants on plantations must appear evident.—*Jamiea Watchman.*

Mr J—— a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, recently sold to a well known slave, TWENTY-ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS worth of slaves.

Mr. H. F. a member of the Presbyterian Church, in Danville, Ky. was master to Richard, a member of the same church, and sexton of it. He sold Richard to a man in Danville, the purchaser was offered an advance on the price he had given, and was induced to sell him to a person living in Jessamine county. Richard's wife and four or five children reside in Danville, or the immediate neighborhood.

These things have all been done within a few months and since the Resolutions were passed by the Synod of Kentucky, advising emancipation.

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BOOKS.

FOR SALE at the Anti-Slavery Depository, in Cincinnati.

Channing on Slavery,
Jay's Inquiry,
Mrs. Child's Appeal,
Stroud's Sketches of the Slave Laws,
Life of Granville Sharp,
Memoirs of Wilberforce,
Memoirs of Phillis Wheatley,
Right and Wrong in Boston,
Fountain.
Cin. June 3, 1836.

PAMPHLETS.

FOR SALE at the Anti-Slavery Depository in Cincinnati.

Proceedings of the Rhode Island Convention, held in Providence on the 2d, 3d, and 4th days of Feb. 1836.
Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts, Anti-Slavery Society, Jan. 1836.

Anti-Slavery Catechism,
Evils and Cure of Slavery,
Authentic Anecdotes of American Slavery,
Reports of the American Anti Slavery Society, &c. &c.
Cin. June 3, 1836.